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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2239

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NOVEMBER-MARCH INTERNATIONAL FLIGHT SCHEDULE

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Nov 83 p 4

["Announcement"]

[Text] The schedule for international airline flights to and from Tirana for the winter, from November 1983 to March 1984, is as follows:

1. The aircraft of the air transport enterprise of the German Democratic Republic, INTERFLUG, flight number IF 390/391, with the itinerary Berlin-Budapest-Tirana and return, will fly every 2 weeks, on Monday. The plane arrives at Rinas Airport at 1125 and departs Rinas at 1225.
2. The aircraft of the air transport enterprise of Yugoslavia, JAT, flight number JU 480/481, with the itinerary Belgrade-Tirana and return, will fly every Tuesday. The plane arrives at Rinas Airport at 0725 and departs Rinas at 0825.
3. The aircraft of the Greek airlines, Olympic, flight number OA 115/116, with the itinerary Athens-Iannina-Tirana and return, will fly every Tuesday. The plane arrives at Rinas Airport at 1050 and departs Rinas at 1150.
4. The aircraft of the Romanian air transport enterprise, TAROM, flight number RO 251/252, with the itinerary Bucharest-Tirana-Rome and return, will fly every Wednesday. The plane arrives at Rinas Airport at 0900 and departs for Rome at 0950. It leaves Rome for Rinas at 1400 and departs for [Rinas] for Bucharest at 1500.
5. The aircraft of the air transport enterprise of the Hungarian Peoples Republic, MALEV, flight number MA 430/431, will fly every Thursday with the itinerary Budapest-Belgrade-Tirana and return. The plane arrives at Rinas Airport at 1015 and departs Rinas at 1105.

Note: Passengers should check in at Rinas Airport 1 and 1/2 hours before the departure of their flight.

CSO: 2100/14

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR OFFICIALS DWELL ON CORRUPTION

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 26 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Discipline and Rule of Law Our Paramount Obligation--Meeting of Expanded Board of Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] Our 12th Party Congress mapped out a full-scale program for building a developed society in Bulgaria. The theoretical formulations and practical approaches in the speeches and lectures of Comrade Todor Zhivkov since the congress have taken on exceptional importance in this regard. On the basis of these important documents the governing body of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has drawn up full-scale measures defining the tasks of the ministry precisely and in detail. An important place in the complex of measures is allotted to questions of discipline and quality. Inspired by the decisions of the congress and displaying their creative capabilities, communists, Komsomol members and nonparty personnel from many units have achieved great successes in the campaign for security, observance of the rule of law and the creation of exemplary public order. In wide-scale socialist competition useful ideas and initiatives have been generated that have contributed to the successful fulfillment of the tasks. At the same time, however, there are units and functionaries who are not in step with the demands, who reorient themselves slowly and with difficulty, who commit violations.

A meeting of the expanded board of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was held the other day. Present were the head of the Military Administrative Department of the BCP Central Committee, Col Gen Velko Palin, the chiefs and secretaries of party committees of central and okrug administrations, and the chiefs and secretaries of party committees of rayon administrations of the capital city. Three questions were considered at the board meeting: the rule of law and discipline in the work of MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] agencies, cooperation between the public prosecutor's office and MVR agencies in strengthening the rule of law, and changes in and additions to the Law on the People's Militia.

The chief of Personnel Administration, Maj Gen Kiril Maslenkov, disclosed information regarding the first point, indicating that along with the great successes achieved, scattered functionaries still do not set an example, grossly violate official discipline and the rule of law, and undermine the authority of MVR agencies. Succumbing to the provocations of foreign elements, to

entl...ents and temptations, to their own selfish and philistine inclinations, and transgressing the norms of socialist morality, particular functionaries of the Ikhtiman rayon administration and of several passport offices and GKPP [expansion unknown] have committed violations of laws and acts impermissible for an MVR functionary. They have thus stained the clean image of MVR agencies.

First to speak on the question set for consideration by the board was the minister of internal affairs, Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov. He dwelt on the work widely under way by the leadership of the ministry and by all units to implement the decisions of the 12th Congress and to master and apply the theoretical formulations and practical approaches developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov since the congress. All this has yielded and continues to yield positive results. "However," Comrade Stoyanov emphasized, "considering the present-day international situation, exacerbated because of American imperialism and the attempts of the imperialist intelligence agencies to corrupt and undermine our socialist society, the state of the work of some units does not measure up to objective requirements. Some of our functionaries do not firmly resist the efforts of the class enemy. They display weak discipline, philistinism and moral instability and violate the laws and the order of the MVR leadership.

Many MVR functionaries have access to large stocks of materials and capital equipment. Individuals with liability for the materials try to tempt and mislead them with these valuable objects and thus recruit them into criminal activities. What is wanted here is stability, an increased sense of responsibility, and abstention from personal privilege. MVR functionaries enforce the laws every day. It is of extreme importance that they know them and strictly observe them. Every violation of discipline and of the laws taken on a political character now. Anybody who does not know them and who is not fighting for the honor of the MVR agencies has no place among us.

The comrade minister spoke in great breadth about the reasons for the weaknesses and violations that occur. Some chiefs, he said, are not fighting rigorously for observance of the laws and official discipline; they play the good guy and the liberal and do not make sufficient demands or exercise sufficient control. He paid special attention in this regard to the place and role of chiefs of sections and departments. They must inform personnel precisely, fully and thoroughly about the nature and spirit of their missions and fight for their execution. There are cases where the missions assigned by the ministry heads are amended, belittled and, in some places, construed and executed in a completely different manner. This decreases the combat capability of the units. The chiefs of sections and departments must be people with high class and party education, with high general and professional knowledgeability, must be morally stable, honest and devoted, ready for action and capable of fighting for and protecting the name of MVR functionary.

To cover all these tasks on time, officer personnel must organize their labor better, allocate the budget of their working time more efficiently, step up control and check on compliance.

Special attention was paid to educational work. The role and place of party and Komsomol organizations and of political sections as means of instruction and

education must be enhanced. One must be better acquainted with personnel if one is to know how and with what to help them.

The comrade minister appealed to all functionaries to stand up for exact and strict observance of discipline and the laws, for unswerving fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th Party Congress and for a worthy welcome to the National Party Conference.

Col Konstantin Kotsaliev, Col Nikola Malinchev, Maj Gen Nikola Cherkezov, deputy minister Col Gen Minko Minkov and first deputy minister Col Gen Grigor Shopov spoke to the ministry board about the question under discussion.

The head of the Military Administrative Department of the BCP Central Committee, Col Gen Velko Palin, also made a detailed speech to the board. He said that the present MVR board is of extremely great importance and merits great appreciation. Its importance is explained by the state of the present-day international situation. Questions of discipline and observance of the rule of law, Comrade Palin pointed out, are a yardstick of the maturity of the individual functionary and of the staff collectively. MVR functionaries perform their obligations with a sense of responsibility. They have had many successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th Congress. There are still individual functionaries, however, who violate the laws and do not perform their obligations in accordance with requirements.

Comrade Velko Palin dwelt specifically on the state of MVR discipline. Several weaknesses in this respect were pointed out. There are unsolved questions in the organization of the work regarding the execution of orders, statutes and laws. The demands made and the control exercised are insufficient. Some chiefs show signs of liberalism.

He spoke about the place and role of party-political work. In some places, Comrade V. Palin said, the level of ideological and political education is not up to the necessary mark. There is a certain formalism and striving for quantity in the work of the political organizers; the combat capability of some primary party organizations is too low. He emphasized the necessity of a more thoroughgoing selection of candidates in the appointment of new MVR functionaries.

Questions of discipline and observance of the rule of law must now be given wide attention in the conduct of party annual meetings. Quality, discipline and efficiency are questions on which the meetings should initiate thorough and frank discussion in order to see how communists are performing their official obligations.

Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov made the final speech on the question under discussion. He said that the evaluations and goals of the board must be made known to all personnel. The questions must be conveyed to the units with the same force and precision so as to nip once and for all all adverse behavior.

Next the chief prosecutor of the Republic, Prof Kostadin Lyutov gave a speech on cooperation between agencies of the chief prosecutor's office and of the MVR regarding observance of the rule of law.

The third question which the expanded board of the ministry considered was the change in and addition to the Law on the People's Militia. The deputy minister and director of the People's Militia, Lt Gen Ivan Dimitrov, gave a speech. He dwelt on the reasons necessitating the change in and addition to the law and on the great significance that the change and addition has for the strengthening of public order and for the assurance of the tranquility and repose of the working people of our country. Comrade Ivan Dimitrov devoted much of his speech to the important tasks assigned to all functionaries by the change in and addition to the Law on the People's Militia.

Finally the comrade minister raised with the chiefs and secretaries of the party committees of okrug administrations certain questions regarding traffic safety on the roads and the protection of agricultural produce. It has been found that the status of traffic safety in many okrugs is poor. The comrade minister ordered prompt and effective measures to be taken in this regard.

The questions discussed by the board are of exceptionally great importance for the work of MVR agencies. Regarding them, urgent and systematic measures were mapped out. All energies must now be mobilized to implement them in a first-rate manner.

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CSO: 2200/26

INTERIOR MINISTER CALLS FOR HIGHER EFFICIENCY, LOYALTY

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 19 Oct 83 p 1

[Article: "Steady and Purposeful Activity for High Quality of Instruction-- Opening of New Political Training Year in Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] The new political training year was opened in the lounge of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in a businesslike constructive atmosphere. The minister of internal affairs Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, deputy ministers, party leaders and ministry heads were present.

The minister of internal affairs Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov delivered a speech in which he dwelt on important foreign policy questions and on the heightened responsibility and demands facing all ministry functionaries. "The present period of our development," the comrade minister declared, "is characterized by an exacerbation, unparalleled in the entire postwar period, of the confrontation between socialism and capitalism and by increasingly persistent attempts on the part of imperialism to accomplish a subversive and demoralizing infiltration and impact in the countries of real socialism. In recent years and months these attempts have taken on the character of veritable ideological and political aggression." Further the comrade minister notes that at this stage it becomes especially important to elevate the quality of our work with every individual and the quality of day-to-day organizational and ideological activity. Hence, he noted, ensues the requirement to improve our instructional and managerial activity so as to achieve higher quality in the official and party work of MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] agencies.

The comrade minister emphasized that one of the most important party theses regarding the nature of political, propaganda and ideological work is that it should be linked as closely as possible with the immediate tasks being performed at a given stage of our development. Otherwise, he noted, propaganda that is didactic, abstract and an end in itself will predominate. This fundamental party thesis applies with even greater force to the ideological processes and activities carried on in MVR agencies, he added.

The comrade minister called special attention to the fact that there must be still more-thoroughgoing study of Marxist-Leninist theory, of the BCP's theoretical contribution and of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's new general conclusions and judgments, as well as systematic work for the ideological and political

tempering and the class and party-political conviction of every functionary. He noted as an exceptionally important task the ceaseless strengthening and development in MVR functionaries of such qualities and features of character as loyalty and devotion to the BCP cause, political maturity and thorough mastery of the latest theoretical achievements of Marxist-Leninist science, public activity, high knowledgeability and professional expertise, honesty, boldness, incorruptibility etc.

Slavcho Georgiev, doctor of economic sciences, gave a lecture on the subject of "The Character of Mature Socialism's Own Material and Technical Base."

The first secretary of the MVR PK [Party Committee] Todor Terziev delivered a closing speech in which he dwelt on some basic aspects of the organization and conduct of the new political training year.

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CSO: 2200/26

GRADUATION DAY AT INTERIOR MINISTRY SCHOOL

Ceremony Described

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 26 Oct 83 p 1

[Article: "Unboundedly Loyal to Their Class Duty--Commissioning of 'Septem-
brist-83' Graduating Class of Georgi Dimitrov Higher Special School"]

[Text] Again the streets and the central square of Mikhaylovgrad are festively animated. The city, which entered into our revolutionary past with the outburst of freedom of the workers and peasants who rose up in arms during Red September 1923, hospitably welcomes the graduates of Georgi Dimitrov VSSH [Vissha Spetsialna Shkola; Higher Special School]. They have come here to honor the greatness and self-sacrifice of the working people who were the first in the world to storm the obscurantism of fascism and to experience a thrilling and joyous moment in their life--the conferring of their first rank as officer and their entry into the ranks of MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] agents. Here on the occasion of this great event have come the minister of internal affairs Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, the first secretary of the BCP Okrug Committee in Mikhaylovgrad Anastas Purvanov, deputy ministers, generals and officers of the MVR, the parents and relatives of the graduates and many citizens.

A command resounds over the hushed square. The minister of internal affairs is inspecting the formed-up ranks of cadets; he congratulates the young personnel on the memorable event. A vigorous and spontaneous cheer echoes. In the eyes of those who up till yesterday were cadets flash emotion and spiritual ecstasy. For years they have been proceeding towards this day, they have been preparing in classes, they have been dreaming about it. And now that on their shoulders, along with the two stars, falls the great responsibility of a restless and difficult profession, they can with perfect right report, "We will with honor perform any task assigned us by the party and the people."

Turning towards his graduates, the school commandant Col Petko Kiprova wishes them good luck in their important job.

The chief of MVR Personnel Administration, Maj Gen Kiril Maslenkov, reads the order of the minister of internal affairs naming the 11th graduating class of Georgi Dimitrov VSSH "Septembrists-83" and conferring upon the cadets their first rank as officers. The first secretary of the city committee of the

Dimitrov Communist Youth Union in Sofia, Krust'o Ivanov, announces the decision of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union to make awards to outstanding students and Komsomol activists.

A thrilling moment! The outstanding students and first-rankers come to the front of the formation. Perhaps the most moved of all is Lt Stefcho Kutsarov, No. 1 in the graduating class, to whom the comrade minister presents his officer's epaulettes first. To the other graduates the first deputy minister of internal affairs Col Gen Grigor Shopov, the deputy minister of internal affairs and director of the People's Militia Lt Gen Ivan Dimitrov, the deputy minister of internal affairs Maj Gen Kolyu Kolarov, and the chief of the MVR Firefighting Central Administration Lt Gen Iliya Donchev presented their diplomas.

The minister of internal affairs Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov made a stirring address to the young lieutenants (we are publishing the address separately [see below]). The first secretary of the BCP Okrug Committee Anastas Purvanov also delivered best wishes to the "Septembrist-83" graduates for loyal and devoted service.

On behalf of his comrades Lieutenant Kutsarov assured the leadership of the ministry that the young functionaries will respect the glorious fighting traditions of the Septembrists and will do their class duty with a high sense of responsibility.

Interior Minister's Speech

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 26 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Speech of minister of internal affairs Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, delivered in Mikhaylovgrad on the occasion of the conferring of first officer's rank upon "Septembrist-83" graduates of G. Dimitrov Higher Special School: "Mind and Heart, Talent and Enthusiasm at the Service of the Party"]

[Excerpts] Comrades, it is with great emotion that I fulfill the behest of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, of the State Council and government of the Bulgarian People's Republic, and the personal behest of the general secretary of the Party Central Committee and the chairman of the State Council Comrade Todor Zhivkov and heartily congratulate the young officers of the "Septembrist-83" graduating class of the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Special School on the completion of their higher education and the conferment of their first rank as officers.

Dear young officers, I wish you the best of health, strength, vigor and conviction so that you may worthily perform your official and civil duty as defenders of the gains of the socialist revolution, of the country's security and public order, of the people's peaceful and constructive labor.

The first words I want to address to you on this solemn occasion are: Always keep the rank you bear as an officer of the Ministry of Internal Affairs pure,

sacred and unspotted. Service in the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is service to the high cause of the party. This is an exceptionally high trust, duty and honor for you, young communists and Komsomol members.

Be ready always and under any circumstances to measure up to the party's trust and concern with unbounded devotion, courage and self-sacrifice.

It is moving that only hours ago we stood in silent homage before the monuments to the Septembrist champions of the people, with filial gratitude for their supreme heroism, vowing loyalty to their ideals, to the ideals of our glorious communist party.

It is moving that the solemn march of our serried young ranks resounds here where 60 years ago brave men, arms in hand, eyes ablaze with revolutionary zeal, rose up in the first antifascist rebellion under the watchword "People--Freedom." They were led by faith and hope in tomorrow, by a thirst for freedom and justice.

It is an honor and a source of pride for us that you are receiving your first officer's rank in Mikhaylovgrad--a region where the September epic of 1923 reached its peak. Led by the Main Military Revolutionary Committee headed up by Georgi Dimitrov, Vasil Kolarov and Gavril Genov, here the people's insurrectionary army waged victorious battles. Numbering as many as 5000 men, it inflicted a total defeat on the armed units of the monarcho-fascist government near the Boychinovtsi railroad station. The Battle of Boychinovtsi proved that this was not a sporadic rebellion of despair, but organized resistance against the usurper fascist government.

Before us is the monument of the Septembrist--bound but not transfixed, arrested but setting his face forward. This is the truest symbol of this uprising which politically, spiritually and morally contributed to the victory of the Ninth of September 1944 and the triumph of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

Present-day Bulgaria is an advanced socialist country with strong industry and modern mechanized agriculture, with a high and stable rate of development

Our progress is the fruit of both the selfless mutual assistance of the socialist countries and especially of the friendship and cooperation of the mighty Soviet Union.

Comrades, we must keep in step with the times in which we live. And if we turn back to the past of our people with admiration and experience, if with a balance sheet we tick off the notable events in their history, it is in order to draw from them a lesson and example for the inculcation of the most valuable human virtues, to have strength and support, faith and optimism in happy and difficult moments, to keep forever keen the sense of unbounded love for our ancient and ever young sacred Bulgarian soil, for its people, for our Bulgarian Communist Party of Blagoev and Dimitrov.

Our people, who know the true price of struggle, life and freedom, are well aware that man's highest good is peace, the sine qua non for labor, construction

and progress. The harsh truth is that we live in extremely alarming and complex times. Through the fault of American imperialism, its military and industrial complex and the naked and aggressive policy it pursues in order to establish American hegemony on the planet, the world stands on the threshold of nuclear catastrophe. The warmongers of the United States and NATO continuously strive to intensify the confrontation, they arm themselves with ever new and deadlier weapons, they make a grab for outer space; they stop at nothing, with lies and slanders they want to manipulate public opinion in favor of their inhuman policy. The Reagan administration has declared and launched an unprecedented "crusade" against Marxism-Leninism and real socialism. A malicious and ferocious anti-Soviet, anti-Bulgarian and antisocialist campaign is being waged. The mind of millions of people worldwide is being poisoned.

It is the reactionary imperialist circles, and nobody else, who are doing everything possible to sabotage negotiations with the USSR, who are endeavoring to disrupt the existing balance of strategic powers, compel the USSR to disarm unilaterally, and attain superiority in arms and armed forces. From a position of strength a number of West European powers are being compelled to agree to the location of the new "Pershing-2" and "Cruise" nuclear missiles in their territory, something which is truly at variance with the security and interests of their own people.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Bulgarian People's Republic and the other socialist countries have recently taken major initiatives to overcome the exacerbation of the international situation. The political declaration of Prague and the Joint Declaration of Moscow express the will and determination of the fraternal socialist countries to exert maximum efforts for the defense of the cause of peace. It is imperative that there be a nuclear weapons freeze, that a commitment to renounce a first nuclear strike be assumed, that negotiations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries be initiated without delay, and that the Geneva negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States be brought to a reasonable and successful conclusion.

The declaration of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Yuriy Andropov, gives a clear, principled and unambiguous answer to the reactionary character of the political policy of the United States and NATO; it emphasizes the unshakable will of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, with all their forces and resources, to defend the peace and guarantee the normal course of life on the planet.

The Bulgarian People's Republic has gained world prestige by its consistent and peace-loving policy. A sincere desire for progress, building and understanding among neighboring countries has dictated our country's proposals that a code of good-neighbor relations with all Balkan states be signed and that the Balkans be turned into a zone free of nuclear weapons. Our party and people are convinced, as Comrade T. Zhivkov has repeatedly emphasized, that war is not fatally inevitable; it can and must be prevented. The only correct position is the position of active opposition to all who are leading the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

Under the conditions of the tensening international situation and the growing danger of war, on behalf of the peace and security of the nations it is extremely important to intensify revolutionary vigilance and to ensure high morale and combat readiness in order to rebuff the warmongers fittingly.

Dear graduates, from today on you take your stand in the ranks of the agencies of State Security, the People's Militia and Fire Protection. Your commanders and teachers have exerted a great deal of effort for you to obtain up-to-date theoretical and professional training, know-how and skills for the precise and competent performance of your official duties. But this is just the beginning. The activity of MVR agents is multifaceted, important and difficult, with many risks and unknowns. Back of the romantic side there is dogged, humdrum, round-the-clock work. You must be ready for it, must work, study and improve yourselves constantly.

A very important principle in your future work is for you constantly to equal the highest achievements of the generations of ministry personnel--those who laid the beginnings and those who strengthened and developed the glorious traditions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. By their imperturbability and selflessness, by their proverbial diligence during strenuous days and sleepless nights the pioneers of the MVR agencies demonstrated their boundless love for the cause of the party, the people and the Soviet Union. For them the profession was and is a sacred duty, a high political trust, their arbiter of party and civil conscience and courage.

Under the guidance and with the constant solicitude of the BCP Central Committee, as the party's April policy was implemented the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs developed and became strong, improved their activities and took a most active part in building a socialist society.

In the face of the present-day international situation, the attempts to intervene in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, the crude pressure and hostile campaign against us, MVR agencies worthily perform their increasingly complex and crucial functions.

They continuously increase their contribution to the implementation of party policy in all areas of social life. They ensure conditions for the tranquil and constructive labor of the people and a serene atmosphere for the implementation of party decisions. MVR agencies fight unflinchingly against the attempts of the imperialist reactionary powers and their special services to conduct espionage and ideological subversive work and against violators of the socialist rule of law and the established legal order.

The high quality of the work of MVR personnel must be sought in the conscientious and efficient performance of assigned tasks and in the endeavor to work according to the best method. Discipline and prescribed service routine are the basic and important prerequisites for the successful performance of tasks and the enhancement of professional expertise.

The complex international scene requires constant heightening of political vigilance and development of your skills for the sake of competence and a

political approach; it requires you to be rapidly and most expeditiously master of any complex situation and to achieve high results.

Required for the beneficial activity of MVR agencies is a combination of the personnel's professional skills with civil courage, incorruptibility and fairness so that your actions, while altogether strict and resolute, can always and in all cases be legal, fair and comprehensible, and acceptable to working people.

Dear graduates, successors to the glorious Septembrists, permit me on your behalf to assure the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, its general secretary Comrade T. Zhivkov, your parents and teachers, and the citizens of Mikhaylovgrad that replacements have arrived in the Ministry of Internal Affairs who will carry high the banner of communism, functionaries with a sense of the New, with a zeal for progress. Let us assure them that the sacred cause has been taken up by sure and able hands that will never tremble in the face of difficulties and that will not mistake the right direction.

Learn from the generations of functionaries who built up experience and wisdom in the struggle against the enemies of the people, in the preservation of public order, in the protection of the national economy against accidents and fires. Learn from them comradeship-in-arms and collectivism. Show boldness and energy in the quest of the New, keep in step with scientific and technical progress, with the scientific creative thought of our times. But be self-critical too; show courage in overcoming the mistakes and weaknesses that occur. Thus your work will be efficient and will measure up to present-day requirements; the authority and prestige of the MVR agencies will rise still more.

Remember that the strength of the MVR agencies is in the party leadership and in the inseverable and firm bond with the working people. From these people, who have suffered, fought, fallen and risen up again, who have preserved and enriched their spiritual virtues, learn resoluteness, courage and endurance in the struggle; learn from them self-denial and self-sacrifice, learn from them internationalism and greatness of spirit.

With mind and heart, with talent and enthusiasm, with the boldness and fearlessness of youth, do your duty!

Good luck, young officers! On behalf of the MVR staff and for myself personally, once more I wish you the best of health, personal happiness and creative successes in service to the party, the people and the homeland.

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CSO: 2200/26

VISIT TO GROUND UNIT MILITARY SCHOOL RELATED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Peter Andris: "The Continuers of Battle Traditions"]

[Text] We discussed the characteristic features of modern military studies with Milan Strmen, the commander of the motorized infantry faculty of the Ground Forces Military College in Vyskov. It is distinguished by a high, more than one-half share of practical exercises, and the systematic effort to impart to the students the necessary amount of knowledge to obtain the title of engineer. Likewise, the goal has been set up of training immature youngsters to become the political leaders of military groups, commanders who are capable of organizing and conducting the training of their subordinates. Close ties to practical activity, maximum approximation of the nature of the study to the conditions of life in military formations --this was a factor that the commander and his deputy, Jiri Rydel, emphasized most of all.

"Recently, I received a letter from former students," said the commander. "They were writing directly from their formation, and thanked us for the exactitude with which we required the execution of all duties. They say that they could have been even stricter, because practical work in the formations is tough, and the capability of every individual is tested out uncompromisingly. I read that letter to every student. We want them to know precisely what awaits them, so that they would understand right away that any slackening in the execution of training missions will work against them."

The modern grounds of the military college not far from Vyskov basking in sunshine looked idyllic just then. It was quiet, apparently peaceful. Only here and there flashed the uniform of a student on his daily duty; part of the students were in classrooms, the remainder in training rooms, the tank grounds, the firing range. Unintentionally, we looked at a project which demonstrated the combination of the functional mission of the complex with a modern architectonic concept. The four faculties of the Ground Forces Military College with the motorized infantry, tank, reconnaissance, anti-aircraft, artillery, chemical, and rear echelon command-engineer study tracks, with a large number of specialties and differentiated requirements for material-technical supply, have found everything in Vyskov necessary for

progressive theoretical and practical training. More than 150 classrooms, 40 laboratories, training firing ranges, specialized work sites for technical subjects, diagnostic equipment, a computer center, television networks, practice rooms, medical equipment, libraries, study halls, mess halls, club rooms--these are only part of the most modern facility for military education in the CSSR. Col Bedrich Balsky, deputy commander of the school for training activity, does not hide his pride. "Currently, the second stage of construction has already been completed. During the third stage, there will come in succession the construction of [computer] terminal classrooms, a school-wide television circuit, a sports facility with an enclosed swimming pool, a motor pool, and many other facilities," he states.

Finally, there is no student who would not value the comprehensive equipping of the school. And thanks to this fact, the "Vyskovites" are getting an ever better reputation, and the interest of young people in studying at the faculties in Vyskov has already exceeded the capacities of the school to accomodate them. "In comparison with the intermediate schools, study in our school is a big jump for every student," says Col Balsky. From the individualistic concept of education the students go over into a system of high organization and collective accomplishment of tasks, for the purpose of teaching the students to organize their own work, and to lead and organize the activity of others. Engineering level knowledge of a given study sector is nothing but a kind of trampoline for the acquisition of command abilities. "After graduating from additional basic service, the students then become both leaders and subordinates at the same time--already during the time of study, each one commands school units, and will be assigned functions that he will be executing in a formation. And the daily routine in the school is organized in the same way as in the formations," explains Col Balsky. Understandably, the problem of transition from the school environment to military practice continues to be the most discussed problem, an area on which the entire command-teaching unit concentrates attention.

The importance of the human factor in the modern army has increased proportionally to the demands that the latest military equipment poses. At individual departments of the school, much work has already emerged on solving the laws of machine-human relations; dozens of students within the framework of competition of student scientific and specialized activity have studied and continue to study the problem of implementing the knowledge of young commanders in the teaching systems in the school, the questions of pedagogy and psychology in the training of military groups, the supplementing of natural command authority, and many other areas. The school is also solving current problems of the Czechoslovak People's Army. The command-teaching staff, composed of highly erudite specialists in various fields of technology or military sciences, who are also experienced in practical matters and the majority of whom have gone through the command functions directly in the formations, creates quite ideal conditions for scientific research activity. "There is practically no instructor who would not have worked in scientific groups, who would not have participated in the solution of research tasks," notes Lt Col Ivo Pavlik, deputy commander of the school for educational activity. In the school, 23 percent of the students, and up to 34 percent of the third faculty are connected with student scientific and

specialized activity. Among other things, seven proposals for improvements were yielded; the proposal of Lt Jiri Kopenec for a variable speed drive got first place in the army-wide competition, and will be implemented in our economy. The proposal of Lt Radomir Pernica for an album of schematics has found widespread use. An entire series of works completed under the supervision of civilian worker Eng Zdenek Riha, candidate of sciences in the field of pedagogy and psychology, made it possible to improve teaching by modern methods. The students also helped in obtaining data from school graduates after their initiation into practical work, in the creation of important feedback. Incidentally, there hardly exists a civilian college which would keep such close track of the "fates" of its students and their implementation into practice as do the military colleges.

At individual faculties, the usual training day went by. A look into the innumerable sheets of plans said quite a bit about the extent of the subjects selected, about the breadth of the knowledge that the students had to master theoretically, know how to implement into practice, and impart to their subordinates in 4 years of studying. They practiced tactics, units were being prepared for combat in platoons, they went through further practical exercise in defense against mass destruction weapons. In infantry training, there was a predominance of practical training in the firing correction of weapons and methodical preparation for directing the fire of a motorized infantry platoon. Self-study awaits everyone during the afternoon, the evenings are free, if, however, it is not still necessary to complete written exercises, or go on watch duty. This is the kind of schedule that Sergeant Miloslav Strbik, a 4th-year student of the motorized infantry faculty, and Sergeant Jiri Frischolz, a 3rd-year student, went through. Their all-day watch duty was gradually coming to an end, and they were already looking forward to a soft bed after a night on the alert. Sergeant Strbik nevertheless acknowledges that his diploma work is already "haunting" him in sleep. Sergeant Frischolz is again preparing his annual project, and, thus, it is not strange that they are in the same cycle. Both of them assert that there is no comparison between the attainments at a civilian school and at Vyskov. The future commanders already have a general idea of what is awaiting them in the formations, but nevertheless apprehensions remain. "I would like to prove that they really taught us something at the school, that we earned the title of engineer and the rank of lieutenant with hard work," Sergeant Frischolz admits. And, of course, they are most worried about what kind of personnel they will get to command. Personnel who are only a little younger than themselves, with great differences, coming from all over Czechoslovakia, composed of soldiers of various callings and dispositions...

In a short time, they will begin to know the reality of military life, perhaps, far from home, armed only with what they had acquired in school. They will come face-to-face with the inevitability of giving the proper order aloud: "Company, come to order!" The everyday life of a new member of the Czechoslovak People's Army, a soldier by profession, will begin. Yesterday, they celebrated their holiday--Czechoslovak People's Army Day. The festive sounds of the garrison bands resounded, the manifestations brought to mind the traditions of the heroic battles of their forefathers at Dukla. They, the junior commanders, will carry out this order every day, perhaps in minor work that is sometimes tiresome and repetitive, but in work that is of vital importance, in efforts concerning the assurance of the high defensive capacity of our country.

GDR RADIO LINKS GRENADA WITH MISSILE DEPLOYMENT ISSUE

DW090959 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Gunter Leuschner's review of the past week's events]

[Text] The U.S. president told reporters the other day that the international outrage over the aggression against Grenada did not impress him or make him lose his appetite for breakfast. In this connection, a travel agency in the United States is currently using the following advertising slogan: Make reservations for a trip to Europe while Europe is still there.

Dear listeners, do you need further cynicism? I think that is enough, although there is an abundance of similar examples at present. Anyone who does not now understand the fundamental difference between the two great powers after what we have been witnessing is a hopeless case. Even the WASHINGTON POST, truly a patriotic U.S. paper, wrote at the weekend: We are now in the terrible position where we fear the actions of our own government more than those of our alleged enemies.

Perhaps you heard over our station yesterday what four young FDJ members of a friendship brigade, who were helping with Grenada's agriculture, had to report about their experiences. Among other things, they said that a 25-year-old person who has grown up under socialism actually knows only from books and stories what imperialism is capable of doing. The shock of the aggression they witnessed as well as the fear they say made them realize what peace and security mean, one of the young people said.

That was on the eve of 7 November, the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. A lot could be said on this holiday, but perhaps it is most important that on this very day, many people are understanding whom we primarily have to thank for peace and security in Europe.

It is no coincidence that reliability and an awareness of responsibility have characterized Soviet foreign policy for 66 years, just as the oft noted unpredictability of U.S. policy is no coincidence. Class affiliation usually prevents bourgeois politicians from admitting that their hopes for the preservation of peace in Europe are based today more on this absolute predictability of Soviet policy than on the actions of Washington. However, many people in the bourgeois camp are now thinking along the same lines as the WASHINGTON POST--

that U.S. actions are to be feared more than those of the alleged enemy--and this can be seen by many developments, for instance, by the warning by Olof Palme against deploying new U.S. missiles as well as by the concern of the Indian Government which was expressed quite explicitly during the FRG chancellor's Asian tour. It can no longer be concealed that Grenada and the deployment of the Pershing missiles are not two different issues, but two sides of the same coin.

After a parliamentary vote, the Danish Government demanded that the NATO Council again enter into deliberations before final deployment. This demand is absolutely justified, and in fact is in keeping with the so-called NATO two-track decision of 1979, the final passage of which stipulates the intention to reexamine the situation with a view to the status of the negotiations--and who should do the examining if not the same NATO Council which adopted this decision in 1979? The fact that Washington nevertheless categorically rejects the Danish demand can only confirm that, on the one hand, the United States wants the missiles under all circumstances and, on the other, the United States is afraid of a discussion of the issue within NATO after Grenada. The fact that Bonn supports Washington in this respect tells its own tale.

What was it that Chancellor Kohl said at a press conference during his Asian tour? They had no intention of submitting to pressure from the street in the missile issue. What is meant, of course, by the street is above all the peace movement, but perhaps the Danish neighbors feel that they were meant as well.

What is striking about the mountain of statements and commentaries about the U.S. aggression against Grenada is the fact that hardly any commentator takes seriously Washington's attempts to justify its actions. It is simply too absurd for any normally thinking person to believe that it is not terrorism when the United States attacks a small country, not terrorism when Israel occupies one Arab country after another, and not terrorism when a U.S. president says the clandestine operations of his intelligence service against Nicaragua are perfectly legal, but that it is indeed terrorism when the people attacked defend themselves. Also, no one will be surprised by the fact that to prove something, Washington is resorting to all sorts of falsifications and finds mysterious documents, and that ammunition is put after the fact into Cuban rice cartons--as reported by FRG students who were eye witnesses. It is hard to understand what people have in mind when they find so-called documents which indicate that the state of Grenada was supposed to receive a few hundred firearms from the Soviet Union. After all, regardless whether such documents are genuine or fake, it is common knowledge that the United States is the world's largest arms exporter and sells or donates weapons worth billions every year to dozens of regimes which, in most cases, are reactionary.

If such purchases are enough to justify an invasion, quite a number of states have some thinking to do. Or is the United States alone allowed to sell weapons to its friends or perhaps even to other aggressors?

The attempts by an FRG politician to justify the aggression in a television discussion the other day had a similar power of conviction. Wouldn't it have been nice if in the thirties, the Western powers had acted toward fascism as the United States did in the case of Grenada? he asked. Let's ignore how dis-

graceful it is to equate one of the world's smallest and most peaceable countries with fascist great Germany; even the most primitive knowledge of history tells us that the problem in the thirties was not the reluctance of the Western powers to occupy Hitlerite Germany, but their support of fascism with all their strength until a certain point of time--support similar to that now extended by the United States to most reactionary regimes throughout the world, from Chile to Israel. Anyone who looks for parallels will find them where people are now supporting aggressors as they did then.

In the past few days, President Reagan as well as his War Minister Weinberger have made it absolutely clear that as far as they are concerned Grenada is no exceptional case. Reagan announced similar aggression for other countries if the same conditions arise, and Weinberger mentioned Nicaragua by name. Bourgeois newspapers consider a large-scale action against the liberation movement in El Salvador and a so-called retaliation strike in the Middle East to be possible.

The current U.S. Navy buildup in the Mediterranean--the biggest since World War II, is thus cause for even more concern. It would be more than just irresponsible to play down events in Grenada, especially since everyone must be aware that only massive foreign and domestic pressure can prevent Washington from further escalating the new phase of its aggressive foreign policy it initiated with Grenada. As illustrated by the reactions during the past 2 weeks, many West European politicians seem to understand this--many, to be sure, but definitely not all.

CSG: 2300/119

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THIRD WORLD NATIONS DETAILED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 8 Nov 83 p 8

[Article by Werner Kahl, Bonn: "East Berlin's 'Development Assistance;' Armaments, Military Advisors and the Expansion of Espionage Centers for the Third World"]

[Text] "Infamous lies," foamed the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND when non-voluntary returnees showed up from Grenada in East Berlin. That pertained to the accusation the GDR had sent military "development assistants" to Grenada in recent years. The wife of "development assistant" Gerd Freymark deplored the stop of a "great development contribution by Cuban friends" on the spice island. Ingeborg Freymark possessed the privilege of GDR intelligence to accompany her husband on foreign assignments, a rarity for couples of the party people.

Yet apart from a vague reference to the use of GDR-developed "multi-purpose vehicles," multicars, and wire pulling for the East Berlin state firm for radio and telecommunications plant construction on Grenada, the "specialists" (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND) keep a tight lip to the readers of the communist party paper about the "solidary assistance" for Latin America and elsewhere.

After having quoted figures for the first time in 1981 about the so-called development assistance, Foreign Trade Minister Horst Soelle (SED) now announces that East Berlin had given "assistance to developing countries and national liberation movements at a total value of M 1,587.7 million" in 1982.

Volunteers for Egypt

The mix of civilian and military "development assistance" had first become evident in 1956. Under the heading, "Proving Solidarity by Deeds," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported on 1 December 1956 about a mobilization wave: The SED Central Committee let itself be asked by comrades at the base to get set for "setting up volunteer units" for Egypt. A "German volunteer battalion," as letters to the editor of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND had it, was to "support actively the liberation struggle of the Egyptian people." From the many appeals from comrades the party paper picked out the request by an Eisenach chauffeur by the name of Guenther Mueller that the government should allow him to place all his knowledge and skill as a "fighter at the service of the just cause of the Egyptian people." Applicants as mercenaries at the service of the world revolution referred then to their training in the "Garrisoned People's Police" (KVP), the cadre for the later NVA (National People's Army).

The call for "volunteer units" for the third world came, not by chance, from the town of Finsterwalde with particular emphasis. Near that kreis town in Lower Lusatia the GDR set up training camps for guerilla warfare. GDR inspectors together with foreigners practiced the formation and operations of armed "workers militia groups."

Whether workers, employees, technicians or functionaries, in the GDR they also always are soldiers. That is a connection foreign observers do not always find easy to make. Calling it "ridiculous," "specialist" Freymark also sought to turn off annoying questioners in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND after his return from Grenada. "Simply ludicrous" to suspect he had been working as a military advisor on the Caribbean island. That radio and telecommunications specialist--for 25 years tried and tested in his service and loyalty to the communist party--was not a "soldier" either or a "military advisor" when he went to Egypt.

What the Kremlin, however, expected of the GDR Germans assigned in Egypt, who were first appreciated there because of its traditional friendship with Germany, the Egyptians could find out about on the spot in the early 1970's. The East Berlin technicians had done a complete job. Offices had been "bugged" up to the presidential palace. A group of 15 monitor specialists had created the possibility to tap 11,000 telephones in Cairo and environs. On 3 and 4 May 1971, the East Berlin "development assistants" coupled the telephones in President Sadat's office and his villa on the left bank of the Nile with a tape monitor in the Ministry of the Interior so that talks coming and going out could be recorded. Then Sadat resorted to massive deportation to get rid of the Soviets and their East Berlin wire pullers.

There is a long list of proven direct meddling by East Berlin--in cooperation with Moscow--in the internal affairs of developing countries. That is also brought to mind by the congratulations Erich Honecker extended on 31 October this year to the Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid. Honecker referred to the 29th anniversary of the "start of the armed struggle" in Algeria. The aid from the GDR leadership for the Algerian liberation front (FLN) had been directed in 1958 by Col Oertel, member of military intelligence. The GDR functionaries Reinhard Knabe and Rolf Maigatter alias Martin Weikert alias Juergen Fuehr, under Oertel's orders, had met with FLN delegates in Amsterdam's Dam Hotel on 10 September 1958. On 16 September they arrived in Tangier under tourist cover. Among their jobs was the supervision over arms smuggling from the East Bloc to North Africa. Shipments were smuggled into Algeria by caravans and trucks.

Cover Provided

In the expectation that western media will give no close scrutiny to the term "technical expert," the assignment of instructors of the GDR state enterprise utility truck combine in Ludwigsfelde near Berlin on Grenada was now also explained as "trade relations." As export coordinator in recent years they had already referred to the state bureau "industrial technical foreign trade" in Berlin-Pankow. It took care of the needed ships tonnage and the "cover" (as to DER SPIEGEL). The buyers were to get their military equipment directly, if possible, without stop-over in western ports. When stops are unavoidable, captains can always produce innocuously made out bills of lading. Armored personnel carriers were entered as "farm machinery," weapons, as "machine spare parts."

Moscow's interest in using even smaller islands such as Grenada reminds of a thrust by the Kremlin strategists into the Pacific. In exchange for acquiring harbor privileges the Soviet Union offered the ruling house of the Tonga Islands harbor development of the main island of Tongatupa for ocean-going ships. Much as in Grenada the Soviets, through middlemen, sent an offer to King Tupou IV--the ruler of some 90,000 people--to develop the small airport for jumbos for international tourism. At that, the island has only 36 hotel beds. Its neighbors, Australia and New Zealand, raised hell when they learned the name of the intended "development assistant," that of the Libyan dictator Qadhafi.

5885

CSO: 2300/116

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GOETTING ADDRESSES LUTHER ANNIVERSARY CEREMONY

DW091835 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1401 GMT 9 Nov 83

[Speech by Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and deputy chairman of the GDR'S Martin Luther Committee, at a ceremony by the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council and Council of Ministers, marking the 500th birth anniversary of Martin Luther on 10 November, at the Berlin State Opera--live]

[Excerpts] With the honoring of Martin Luther the German Democratic Republic once again proves to be a state of peace and it testifies to its determination to contribute with the best of its ability to understanding between states and increasing friendship among peoples. We take pleasure in the fact that a large number of visitors from all continents are coming to our country during the festivities marking the reformer's 500th birth anniversary. They are offered the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the results and projects of the work for the building of socialism, to obtain a realistic image of our republic's incessant striving for peace and to familiarize themselves with the continuous cultivation of the heritage which Martin Luther and his contemporaries have left to us materially and intellectually.

During the past few months the manifold events devoted to Luther's memory in our country already have led to a large number of encounters with personages from other countries. The strong international participation in scientific conferences and colloquies, for instance, in the reopening of the Wartburg near Eisenach and the state Luther Hall at Wittenberg, in church days but also the vivid flow of tourists from all over the world, who are on the trails of Martin Luther in our country--all this, ladies and gentlemen, has offered many opportunities for opening or continuing the dialogue about issues related to joint action for peace and for the wellbeing of people. We are ready for such a constructive dialogue at any time also in the future.

For almost 2,000 years Christians are placing their hopes in a period of time in which people can live a purposeful life in peace and fraternity. Peace is the vital issue of peoples, it is the supreme human right. There were aspirations of the people already during the restless times in which Luther had lived. He expressed it by admonishing the authorities to work for--as he wrote--peace being maintained among the people. How much more do these words apply to the governments and peoples of our days in which the life of the entire mankind is

at stake. For the first time in its history it is facing the threat of being annihilated in a world-wide nuclear war. This is where the historic experience made hitherto, according to which war is the continuation of policy with other means, is reaching a limit that can be crossed only by being punished with nuclear ruin.

This historically unprecedented situation requires that peaceloving people all over the world take efforts for joint thinking, father all their moral potential and put all their political power on the scales so as to prevent the madness of nuclear war. It is only through joint action of all peaceloving people that those can be restrained who for egotistic goals take the risk of nuclear disaster into account and who thereby would head for an end of life on our earth.

Since the horrible days of Hiroshima and Nagasake the explosive power of the nuclear arms arsenals has increased millionfold. It is high time to finally put an end to this development which threatens life. Christians as well as non-Christians and all humanist forces are responsible for the preservation and protection of the indispensable conditions of life of the present and coming generations. For saving these indispensable foundations from an all-destructive nuclear war, the halt of the arms race and effective steps for disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament really are vital.

These are the goals which Luthern church directorates and millions of protestant Christians throughout the world together with all other peace forces are adopting today with growing intensity. the mere salvations individualism of the past is increasingly replaced by the awareness of co-responsibility for the fate of all of mankind and for the task to help preserve peace on earth and keep it habitable for ourselves and the next generations. Innumerable protestant clergymen and laymen on all continents participate in the struggle of the peace movement in their countries.

The general assembly of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver stressed-- I quote--that life must be preserved and defended against the powers of death and suppression which are its enemy. The assembly strongly warned about the danger that the mad rush into nuclear disaster--as it says in the Vancouver declaration on peace and justice--in an incredibly short time will move toward a situation where the likelihood exists that life on our show planet will be destroyed, unless we do something against it now.

Therefore, the general assembly of these great churches part of which are based on Lutheran traditions endorsed the statement that a nuclear war cannot be justified under any circumstances. Ladies and gentlemen, in this respect the desire for peace of Christians throughout the world is identical with the goals of socialist peace policy.

With the Prague declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states, with the Moscow statement of leading representatives of socialist countries, with the renunciation by the USSR of a nuclear first strike, with its proposals for the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments, and with the Soviet draft agreement on the renunciation of military force in space practical ways have been shown for averting the danger of a missile and nuclear war, for replacing intensified

armament and confrontation by a course of political and military detente and thereby making peace more secure in the interests of all peoples and states.

Peace is threatened most of all by the NATO plans to deploy new U.S. intermediate-range first strike missiles on the territory of West European states. If these intentions were to be implemented, not only the approximate military-strategic balance between the sides in Europe and the world would be unilaterally changed, but the danger of a nuclear inferno would be created which would extinguish the Germans on both sides of our state border and would turn our whole continent into a nuclear desert. However, German history and our continent's history must not end in this way.

Our republic is aware of its historic duty to do everything in its power so that Europe and the world will never again be swept by war starting from German soil. We will meet this responsibility for the present and future of our people as well as all other peoples under any circumstances. This also includes our ability to protect peace with military means in proportion to the degree of the threat to peace.

Dear friends, for us in the GDR the defense readiness and the struggle for peace constitute an inseparable whole. Together with the fraternal socialist states we are for a nuclear free Europe. If this goal cannot be reached now, we positively advocate a substantial reduction of the nuclear weapons arsenals on the basis of equality and equal security, so that regarding the mass destruction means in and around Europe no side is superior to the other side in one missile, one bomber, or one warhead.

The Soviet Union even has stated its readiness to scrap all those missiles which it would withdraw from its European territory, to reduce the number of its missile launching pads to a number below that of the British and French launchers, not to deploy new missiles in the eastern part of its country, and to concretely agree at any time on the number and type of intermediate-range means of delivery of both sides, provided the balance of forces remains unchanged--meaning, that no new missiles are deployed in West Europe--and all nuclear means now installed in Europe are taken into account.

The door to an agreement is still open. Everything depends on whether the other side also shows political reason and good will. The wisdom and consistence of socialist peace policy also manifest themselves in the fact that this policy maintains a positive attitude to other states' initiatives in the interests of peace. For example, the GDR like its allies has readily adopted the Swedish proposal to create a zone free from theater nuclear weapons along the dividing line of the two military systems in Europe. We in the country of origin of the reformation support this initiative of a state where Martin Luther is highly respected like in many other European countries.

A nuclear-free belt from the North Cape to the Mediterranean would be a confidence-building measure of large importance for security and cooperation in Europe. The GDR is willing as before to partake in a corresponding agreement. Socialist policy by nature is peace policy. We are happy to note that the realization of this fact also is growing in influential circles of the world Lutheran churches.

The secretariat-general of the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva recently stated that the letter by Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet presidium chairman, answering a peace appeal by this world federation proved the Soviet Union's interest in preserving peace. On the other hand, it condemned the statements and actions of those governments who take the nuclear danger looming over mankind easy.

The secretariat-general stressed the necessary unity of all peace forces in the following words--I quote: together with all people on our planet we faithful Lutherans raise our voice against war and for life in peace, irrespective of ideological, historic, and cultural differences. It is our common concern not to admit under any circumstances a nuclear disaster and the destruction of life on earth. End of Quotation. These are statements to which we in the GDR fully agree. We, too, hold the view that those who are committed to Martin Luther's legacy--no matter from what social or spiritual position--will primarily feel called upon today to help create and preserve peace. This is the supreme command of humanity, the highest proof of love for one's neighbor and respect for life.

CSO: 2300/119

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES NOTED

Why Plans Should Deal with Unions

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 20 Sep 83 p 3

/Article by Jerzy Rzeszuto: "In Okocim Brewery. Why They Want To Be Active In Trade Unions"/

/Text/ I visited Brzesko for a reason. The local brewery is a special plant on the industrial map of Tarnow Province. The OZP /Okocim Brewing Plant/ takes pride in its topmost level of workforce membership in the trade union. As of 19 August 1983, union membership was 690 persons. There are 1,092 employees, of whom 544 are unionized, as are 146 retirees. The management belongs to the union to a man, and 41 persons out of the 59 mid-level supervisory personnel have joined the union. Out of the 218 party members, 148 are in the union. Slowly but steadily the membership increases every day.

The OZP Employees' Trade Union in Brzesko was registered on 18 January 1983 as Item 25 at the Provincial Court in Tarnow. Prior to the registration, information was steadily provided at meetings and during meal breaks over the plant's communications system. Trade Union legislation and statutes were repeatedly discussed. The entire work force became familiar with the range of problems which were to come within the purview of the union movement. Resurgence of that movement was fostered by a favorable climate created by the local POP /basic party organization/, plant management, and employee self-government which had been operating at the OZP since July 1982. According to OZP's deputy director for technical affairs, Tadeusz Mardon, the growth of the union movement was also beneficially affected by favorable production results. The absence of confrontational situations on bread-and-butter issues which provoked resentment elsewhere resulted in a good climate among the work force.

"It could be claimed," Tadeusz Mardon says, "that our community was easier to integrate than others because the plant is long established and the work force is seasoned. Such claims would, however, be mistaken. The work force is changing in our plant as well. A short walk amply demonstrates how many young people there are. To comment on the formation of new trade unions, I can say that it was a mere formality here, which was not surprising because the unions, once dissolved by the decree on martial law, were completely substituted for by social commissions. They were headed by Janina Szczupakowa, former president of our branch trade unions. She was later elected chairperson of a founding commission for, and, most recently, presiding officer of a new trade union organization."

"Do we need trade unions?" Bogdan Radzieciak, OZP party secretary for propaganda in Brzeska wonders. "We certainly do. The proof of their importance at OZP is in their growing membership. To be sure, we had Solidarity here as well but, unlike it, our unionists engaged in no politicking. Instead, they handled routine concerns of the work force, e.g., buying shoes, toothpaste, and shampoo for persons in need at a time when these items were unavailable. I was not a Solidarity member but I have been active from the very first in the new trade union and its spearhead group."

Add that Bogdan Radzieciak, 10 years with OZP in Brzesko, holds the responsible post of manager of the brewing department. Out of the 43 employees in that department, 35 have become union members. Why did they join? Primarily because the union defends employee interests. The union's contribution to solutions of all problems of the enterprise and its work force is substantial at OZP. This opinion is confirmed by Irena Masztalerz, OZP deputy director for commercial affairs, and by laborers. "The trade unions have their place in our plant," they assert.

Zenon Pajor has worked for 22 years in the brewery as brewing specialist. "The need to create new trade unions is beyond dispute. The very fact that a majority of the membership of the former branch union has joined the new union proves that the union must operate at the plant."

Aleksandra Golec, Keg Cleaning Department: "I have worked in the brewery a good many years and, despite a break in union activities, I have felt at all times a union member. In summertime, trips and camps are provided for children. The union pays a portion of the cost of my kid's stay in summer camp."

The trade unions at OZP in Brzesko-Okocim are handling such issues and others as well. Their interests are focused on a new pay schedule with higher incentives, union involvement in the distribution of additional bonuses and in the drafting of award regulations, joint determination of production targets by union members participating in meetings and advisory sessions, and union contribution to improvement in job conditions.

Crucial decisions on OZP's vital concerns are made by the management through plant collectives, in which there is room for trade unions' representatives. Much attention in union activities is devoted to sound handling of the social fund. Motions for distribution are reviewed and approved, and the fund is distributed by the trade unions together with the management's Social Concerns Department.

The trade unions substantially contribute to the development of OZP programs for improvement in qualifications, recreation, cultural life, and sports for the work force.

Unionists are also active in planning for leisure time. Most recently, the brewing department employees went on a trip to Chorzow. The cost of the trip is partially borne by the Social Concerns Department, with the union beginning to finance a portion of it next January. Film showings are also arranged. Employee vacation periods were assured for the entire membership this year.

Many children from brewery workers' families went to summer camps. There is a club at the plant with an activity schedule to be approved by unionists. At union inspiration, a dance group is being formed, and a brass band has given some concerts. The unionists hope to restore, perhaps by the end of the year, annual reunions of retired brewery workers.

According to Janina Szczupak, OZP union board chairman who was accessible by telephone even on her vacation, "The trade unions' role at OZP is, in effect, greater than it might at first appear. Our next task is to discuss some matters connected with the implementation of the law on societal inspection of labor. We recently settled a thorny issue concerning partial refunds to employees for WPK /Provincial Transportation Enterprise/ bus commuter roundtrip tickets from residence to the workplace. Apartments for employees are a recurrent issue. We have assurances from a Brzesko residential cooperative that nearly 60 apartments will be provided by the end of 1986. This would meet our most urgent needs."

The unionists from Okocim Brewery recently addressed all beer industry enterprises with the idea of establishing a National Federation of Beer Industry Trade Unions. A meeting of representatives from each plant was scheduled for early October 1983 in Brzesko-Okocim. Acceptances to join the federation have been received to date from brewery workers in Glubczyce, Warka, Czczecin, Zielona Gora, Lwowek Slaski, Slupsk, Polczyn-Zdroj, Lublin, and from the trade union adjunct to the Association of Beer Industry Enterprises.

The union was registered only a short time ago. It has many concerns to handle. Yet I leave Brzesko in an upbeat mood. They are certainly not sitting on their hands at the brewery. They have the urge to work and be active. Union ranks grow with each problem successfully handled. The ranks keep growing and become stronger by being active in society. This makes most of the workers happy and proud.

Regional Union Aktiv Training Center Formed

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 23 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by K. Cielenkiewicz: "A Regional Union Aktiv Training Center Is Formed for Krakow, Tarnow, Nowy Sacz Unionists"/

/Text/ With 4 months remaining until the end of the year, the new trade unions have 3.3 million members nationwide. Out of 765 Krakow Province plants in which unions should be operating, they are active in 621, or 81 percent. The Provincial Court has registered 496 trade unions, and elections to plant self-government bodies were held in 323 union organizations. Membership to date is 73,000 employees, or 21 percent of total employment. These data indicate that our province's trade unions have not reached the national average. In terms of the number of plants in which unions are operating, nationally the figure is 90 percent while in Krakow Province it is 81 percent. This percentage ranks the province at the bottom of the list. Similarly the number of union members is somewhat below national averages in Krakow Province: 23 percent of total employment nationwide, 21 percent in Krakow Province. These figures indicate that

organization of the labor movement is proceeding at a slower rate in our province than it does elsewhere in Poland.

Trade union growth is not at its most vigorous in the farm-produce processing industry, in which only 17 percent of total employment are union members. The situation is fairly good, however, in commodity turnover businesses--52.3 percent of the work force; in Artigraph Sheet Metal Containers Factory--57.7 percent; and Krakow Lumber Industrial Enterprise--38.3 percent of the work force is unionized. The situation is alarming in Krakow Herb Plant Herbapol with 4.7 percent, Meat Transport Enterprise--5.1 percent, Regional Enterprise of Meat Industry--6.7 percent, and in PZZ Regional Grain-Milling Enterprise--7.6 percent of the work force unionized.

Interestingly, trade unions are growing more vigorously outside of Krakow, e.g., in the plants and enterprises of Slomniki 48 percent of employees are unionized, in Proszowice the figure is 40 percent, and in Krzeszowice it is 33 percent.

The 124 plants still lacking organized groups spearheading union formation are concentrated in the labor cooperative and disabled persons' cooperative sector (41 plants), in the cultural sector (15 plants), municipal utilities sector (11 plants), and in publishing houses and editorial offices.

Note that plant management occasionally fails to respect legitimate entitlements of trade unions. This is particularly observed in midsize and small work establishments where a trend to reduce and constrain the areas of cooperation is visible. Management thus needs to be reminded that there can be no single problem concerning an employee on which a decision is made prior to consultation with a trade union.

Union activists will certainly be aided in their routine work by the forthcoming creation--repeatedly requested in the past--of a Regional Union Aktiv Training Center in the next few weeks. With its headquarters in Krakow, the center will cover the provinces of Krakow, Tarnow, and Nowy Sacz. In keeping with a proposal made by the Council of State's Social Consultative Commission, substantive and organizational development of the center was handled by Provincial Advisory Teams for the labor union affairs in Krakow, Tarnow, and Nowy Sacz.

The center's principal task will be to train union aktivs for indepth familiarity with union activities in their legal (statutory) and organizational dimensions, in keeping with the 8 October 1982 law on trade unions within the setting of economic reform. Training will proceed in two directions: a cycle of training sessions for the aktiv of plant union boards and consultations and counseling for union activists, instructors, and lecturers. Sample topics now in preparation for classes include: general union problems, the unions' legal status in Poland, the sum and substance of self-governance and independence of trade unionism in Poland, the rights and duties of union locals in work establishments, as well as issues helpful in routine work including union recordkeeping, planning, financial management, statutory benefits, supervision over societal labor inspection, and collaboration with other supervisory bodies to monitor conditions of work.

Unionists-Farmers Meet in Gorzow

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 23 Sep 83 pp 1, 4

/Article by (cud): "Unionized Farmers Met at Their First Convention in Gorzow"/

/Text/ The formation of labor union structures, now encompassing 299 locals with over 35,000 members in the region, has entered a new, final stage in Gorzow Province. Besides tackling employees' current problems, many unions took an active stance in the last several months in work intended to result in the establishment of a national federation of particular branches. The first regional meeting of unionists electing their delegates to a national conference was held yesterday at the First Provincial Congress of the Federation of Polish Agricultural Employees' Trade Unions. In attendance were representatives of 54 trade unions from state farms, SKR /Agricultural Circles Cooperatives/, RSP /Agricultural Producer Cooperatives/, ZMR /Young Farmers' Teams/, POM /State Agricultural Machine Stations/, PBRol /State Agricultural Bank/, CN /Seed Center/, with nearly 7,200 members.

The session was opened by Henryk Kryczka, the federation's founding committee chairman for Gorzow Province, with more than 90 delegates of union organizations desiring to join the federation, including virtually all trade unions from state farms and many unions from SKR and RSP as well as other agricultural sectors. A full range of the rural population is represented by the 11 delegates elected at the session by Gorzow unionists, which is in keeping with the principle of equality of interests of all branches and union organizations within the federation, which was emphasized in the course of the discussion by Kazimierz Piatak, secretary of the federation's founding committee. Having amassed more than 1,000 trade unions, the federation has already become, and will continue to be, an organization generated by the needs of agricultural workers and defending their interests.

Commenting during the session, PZPR Gorzow Province Committee Secretary Henryk Piekarski emphasized the party's concern about growth of an independent self-governing union movement. We want, he said, this movement to be strong and cohesive, genuinely defending the interests and rights of the working class and all working persons. I can assure you, he asserted, that we will resolutely respond to every signal indicating a violation of trade unions' legislated entitlements or the rules on collaboration with trade unions, regardless of who is affected, be it the party organization, civil service, or economic administration.

The congress of the federation will hold its concluding session after the national congress to elect its proper authorities.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Conditions for Party Recommendations

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 21 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Jaros: "One Must Have a Bit of Feeling Before a Recommendation is Withdrawn"]

[Text] Zdzislaw Gubas, first secretary of the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] at the Myslowice Mine, said: "When the article appeared in TRYBUNA about the conflict caused by the problems associated with the party's recommendations for management positions ("A Plant Conflict or a Misunderstanding," TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, 5 September), one of the members of our executive board came to me and said: 'You see, Mr Secretary, we also have such problems.' But I do not agree with him. I believe he is wrong because I do not see an analogy between that story and our situation."

Cadre Matters

The KZ began to examine the mine's cadre problems during the second half of last year. It was done in accordance with Article 8 of the resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee concerning the need to develop and implement new principles for cadre policies which will repudiate the bad practices of the past and will enable the party to maintain an active role in this area.

One of the first acts of the committee was to establish a list of positions that should be subject to party recommendation. In fact, the guidelines specify that the list must encompass positions starting with the director of a division to the chief engineer and directors because these positions require KM [City Committee] and KW [Province Committee] recommendations. But the KZ stated that in view of the specific difficulty and responsibility of work in the mining divisions, the lists should be broadened to include the position of shift foreman. All in all, then, it was necessary to review almost 30 individuals.

To do this properly and standardize the criteria for preparing the questionnaire--professional and organizational matters, professional competence and relations to other people--the committee invited 11 of the mine's chief engineers

to state their views concerning their subordinates. At the same time, the individual OOP's [Branch Party Organization] would also prepare opinions about these individuals. The youth organization was supposed to do the same.

The Administration's Evaluations Were the Most Unassertive

The administration's evaluations were the most unassertive; only one worker received a negative opinion. The OOP secretaries had reservations about 12 individuals. But here other limitations had to be considered: three opinions concerned overmen, positions that are one level lower than that of a foreman. At times no differentiation is made between them. In addressing an overman, one uses the courtesy title "foreman." Popular opinion holds one and the other as having the same duty, that is, to keep an eye on the work. However, there is a difference: the KZ does not make recommendations for overmen.

"However, this does not at all mean," says Comrade Gubas, "that we do not examine these individuals vigorously or that we pay no attention to the opinions presented by party organizations, for example, when it concerns promotions."

The ZZ [Plant Board] of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] had difficulties with the evaluations.

"We must admit self-critically," states Zdzislaw Aksamit, "that some of the poorer working circles did not show sufficient interest in this matter and did not prepare those evaluations."

Thus is rested on the fact that the ZZ of the ZSMP seriously considered 20 individuals questioned by the OOP's and expressed their reservations about 7 individuals.

It should be remembered that there were no questions that were especially ticklish, causing general resistance and resentment. Normally the comments concerned one of the following points: professional knowledge, ability to get along with people or the organization of their work. But because there was a difference of opinions in several cases between the mine administration and branch party organizations, additional talks were held with the mine directors who were the immediate supervisors of the seven individuals. They confirmed the reservations advanced by the PZPR OOP's and the ZSMP. But why were these reservations not included in the evaluations prepared by the chief engineers?

"One must remember," explains Leon Mazur, the chairman of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] of the Myslowice Mine Workers, who is pragmatically attuned to the world, "that each engineer thinks about what would happen if such a worker were taken away from him. Thus in all cases he evaluates them very prudently."

In each case the party organization making a recommendation sought in addition the opinions of the administration and the ZSMP, and these opinions were confirmed in toto. The problem then arose: What to do now?

Some members of the executive board, considering that, in order to strengthen the party's authority, quick decisions and their unequivocal execution are needed above all, suggested that the recommendations should be withdrawn immediately and the directorate should be approached to remove these individuals from their positions. But the executive board as a whole and its individual members are not one and the same thing. The executive board was inclined to be more deliberative on this matter and decided to wait a while. Of course, in the end not one of the seven individuals under question was evaluated negatively unequivocally. Each of these individuals already has worked in his position for several years, and at one time each of them was recommended by the party. In addition, none of the reservations applied to a specific situation in which one could speak about a violation of work regulations or the basic principles of coexistence. Above and beyond this, unequivocal criteria for evaluations, which would give cause for withdrawing a recommendation or more benign action by the party organization, were still lacking.

"One also must treat each such case individually," Comrade Gubas repeats his arguments. "Of the seven individuals, who of course knew about the evaluations concerning them, one worker quit voluntarily, one worker will retire shortly, and one worker decided to take his job seriously, in businesslike fashion, and is trying to improve his professional knowhow. There also is one case of a resolute change for the better in relations with the OOP and its resolutions."

The trade union is also aware of the seven cases. It is cognizant of the evaluations and agrees with them. However, Chairman Mazur emphasizes the human aspect of the matter:

"Several of these individuals are older workers," he says, "and at times they are coarse in their contacts with others, but of course life has molded them that way. It is very simple to judge someone quickly and unequivocally not seeing in this way how many years of his life, or that which he has done so far, are not taken into account. Therefore, it is good that the executive board is seeking more opinions and is not rushing to any final conclusions."

But there is another side of the problem. There are not too many individuals eager to work in mine supervision. For example, in one of the mine's regions, three of the four supervisory foremen are retiring. One must prepare to hurry and promote replacements. Therefore, if the recommendations are to be withdrawn, the directorate should be prepared for this and know beforehand that it must find others for their positions earlier.

The Secretary Has No Doubts

The secretary does not doubt that if the recommendations are withdrawn, it will be impossible to obtain individuals for these positions. The current practice of relations between the KZ and the directorate confirms this conviction. All changes in positions, transfers and new hirings are coordinated with the committee and unions. Nothing happens without their opinions or in defiance of them. All cadre disputes have been settled amicably thus far.

However, the situation can become complicated if a shortage of cadres occurs. One cannot exclude the possibility that the KZ will have reservations about a specific man, and the directorate will not have another worker who is appropriate for the given position. That is why today the directorate party organization, trade union and the youth organization members that are involved in this action will, in seeing this danger, attempt to act with great sensitivity, jointly discussing all eventualities and compromising to the greatest extent possible in order not to provoke unnecessary conflicts.

Looking at this problem in perspective, the youth and party organizations and the trade unions will have to select and prepare a reserve cadre in conjunction with the directorate. The concern here is about young people who, in being given appropriate training and gradually promoted, will somehow, "be led" to the desired assumption of certain positions and thus will free the enterprise from the danger of having unoccupied positions in case of a retirement or the need to make a sudden change. In preparing new cadres, it is necessary to avoid errors of schematism, observing that a bad worker is better than none at all and throwing up one's hands at the seeming impossibility of obtaining consistency of a man's attitudes with his words.

Party organizations have a large role to play here, not only at the mine level but also at the OOP level, because that is where the irritations occur most often.

For example, the KZ executive board stated that during vacation time the apportionment of automobiles and premiums and the undertaking of several personnel decisions at a lower level occurred without consulting the division party organizations. The first secretary was then required to present his criticism to the director. The effect was immediate. At the very next meeting with the managers, the director reminded them severely about the obligation to coordinate these matters with the party organization and worker collectives in the division.

"The relations are so falling into place," states Comrade Gubas, "that at the KZ-directorate level we already have developed very good forms of cooperation. But at times the work directors forget about the existence and role of the OOP's. Thus we are making preparations for them to meet with the OOP executive boards. Specific complaints will be made; those present will speak their mind. And I believe measureable effects will be achieved by this. After all, it probably is more sensible to avert a conflict at the base rather than to strive for severe measures, such as withdrawing a recommendation."

The specific affair of the seven individuals will be reviewed in October. The executive board members once again will seek the opinions of the OOP's, mine administration, trade unions and the ZSMP. They will decide if anything has changed; they will reach a conclusion and make a decision. Some believe that all this waiting is unnecessary, that severe action should have been taken immediately.

"I still do not see an analogy," repeats Comrade Gubas, "between that as seen here and the situation described in that article."

Party Discusses Trade Union Problems

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 21 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Krawczyk: "From the Need for Talks"]

[Text] As previously reported, at the invitation of Wieslaw Skrzydlo, PZPR KW first secretary, a group of almost 100 trade unionists met with the party's KW in Lublin on 16 September to discuss the problems of the trade union movement and to reflect on and evaluate the sociopolitical and economic situations in the nation and in the province. In addition to the host and the invited guests, PZPR KW Secretaries Tadeusz Borszynski and Witold Przybylski, and Andrzej Szpringer, vice governor of Lublin province, participated in the meeting.

The broad outline of the course of the meeting follows.

KW Secretary Tadeusz Borszynski presented data on the development of the trade union movement in the province. Union organizations or initiating groups already exist in 573 workplaces, or in 83 percent of the socialized economic units in which trade unions can be formed. Most organizations are functioning in industry, education, agriculture, mining and in the province's four largest enterprises; one-third of the work force already has joined the union organizations. All in all, the unions have amassed 72,000 members concentrated in 491 plant organizations.

The majority of trade unionists are workers (70 percent), of whom 30 percent are PZPR members. It has been noted that young workers participate very little in the unions (10 percent), especially youth belonging to the ZSMP. Union organizations or promotion committees still have not been formed in 88 enterprises, primarily in the cooperatives, design bureaus and cultural institutions.

Then T. Borszynski characterized the social and political content of the trade union movement, judging that interest in this movement is assuming increasingly universal forms that are favorable and propitious no matter how the opponents of the new unions continue to discredit the idea and the process of forming the unions. The KW secretary also discussed the activity of Lublin's trade unionists in creating a national interplant organization.

Andrzej Szpringer, vice governor of Lublin province, also addressed the meeting. He gave a report on the resolutions and postulates submitted in June during a similar meeting of provincial party and administration authorities with trade unionists. Among other things, he discussed the UW's [Provincial Office] activities to improve the housing situation in Lublin and the functioning of municipal transportation.

A. Szpringer also informed the meeting that it will not be possible to build a House of Culture in Swidnik before 1990 despite the awareness of the authorities of the social seriousness of this problem. Also the situation is made

worse by the fact that at the end of this year the documentation for this building, for which Swidnik residents have been waiting for many years, will become invalid. In spite of this, because of the crisis and the rigors of the economic reform, such an important investment cannot be included in the plan before the mentioned time. In addition, the authorities are not now in a position to provide money in the province budget to cover the costs for building the F. Dzierzynski primary school in Pulawski, despite the social pressure and its acceptance by the authorities.

The vice governor explained that the work force reduction during the first quarter of this year at the PRG [State Mining Enterprise] in Leczna (from 2,100 to 1,600 employees) was a one-time move, and further reductions are not anticipated at this time. Individuals who were let go by the PRG found employment in the Lublin Coal Basin Mines or at the Ursus Metal Plants in Lublin. Concerning the time limit for placing the heating main in operation, the vice governor said that it would be done by 15 November.

Then the guests spoke. The representative of the Czechow Housing Cooperative Union in Lublin spoke about guaranteeing accommodations for the cooperative's technical support workers. Presently these workers occupy living quarters for which cooperative members are waiting. The chairman of the union at the Pulawy Nitrogen Plants also spoke about housing. He reproached the city's director for being indecisive about granting land for plant housing construction. Land on which to build housing was granted to the plants, but meanwhile these locations were taken from them and granted instead to the WDOKP [Eastern District Directorate of State Railroads]. The right to build housing on granted lands was defended further on in the discussions by the WDOKP representative. A member of the Polish Teachers' Union from Swidnik continued with the housing theme, stating that teachers have much difficulty in obtaining housing having a greater living area, which is an infraction of the provisions of the Teachers' Charter.

A union representative from the PBPP [Enterprise for Constructing Industrial Ovens] in Lublin discussed the attitudes of the workforce. He said that the program and actions of the party and the government are not always understood by the workers. The speaker emphasized this problem very strongly in the context of the eventual price increases that the government wants to submit for public consultations. The speaker appealed for a better understanding by the authorities of the problems of young people who are often frustrated and angry because they presently see no opportunity for them to participate significantly in public life. In the meantime, young people are uniting for progress and initiative. Such desired initiative could be encouraged by decisions enabling and facilitating the building on a large scale by young people of their own homes, which is desired in the government programs and supported by the statements of party authorities. The PBPP unionist also devoted much attention to the need for journalists to unite and speak the truth. "We live in a Christian society," he said in conclusion. "This obligates us to live in truth."

The next speaker, the vice chairman of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] for the Lublin Truck Factory, stated that no one world view has a monopoly on pronouncing the truth and a moral order. It also should be remembered that socialism is an idea that has been approved universally, especially by denying the social and moral order established, among others, by Catholicism.

The speaker then continued: "Poland is now a very tolerant country. The fact is that the opponents of the new unions and of socialism as well often are middle-management technicians. Thus I came across the situation in our factory where in one section the director is a man who is sympathetic to us and 90 of its members joined the union, but in another section, only 1 person joined. In addition, this one worker, who at one time was singled out for good work, is now rebuked because, in the opinion of his director, he is a poor worker. It must be clearly stated that we have no friends among the cadres."

The unionist from the Lublin FSC [Truck Factory] also emphasized the need to establish self-government and union jurisdictions because ambiguous actions are often initiated that result in misunderstandings and conflicts. He talked about the bureaucratic barriers the factory encounters in obtaining building lots for its workers; the speaker also criticized the system for distributing vouchers for automobiles, labeling it as very unclear. "We have noticed much dissatisfaction in this matter," he said. "At one time we fought against the murky criteria for distributing coupons; now the vouchers are doing us in publicly."

A representative of the PKS [State Motor Transport] union spoke about the difficult work in this enterprise. A shortage of personnel often requires truck drivers to assume the burden of convoying cargo, which does not provide any material increase in wages, although responsibilities are increased significantly. For these same reasons, bus drivers are adjudged to be conductors also, but the compensation for fulfilling this additional duty is often symbolic. At the same time, it should be remembered that a driver working two jobs cannot guarantee proper service to the passengers and punctuality of bus service. The speaker then presented the difficulties the PKS overhaul shop on Wieniawski Street is having in obtaining the garages that at one time belonged to the militia but were granted to the shop by the mayor of Lublin, whose decision in this matter was countermanded by the governor of Lublin Province. The PKS already has borne much expense to overhaul the boiler room to heat the garages. In the meantime, the garages have been leased to Konsuma and one of the commercial organizations.

"When we came here from Silesia it was promised that we would be living in a city of the 21st century," said a unionist from the Lublin Coal Basin Mine. In the meantime, what does Leczna look like? There are many M-2 type houses which are dilapidated and easy to freeze. The city has no nurseries or nursery schools. Because schools are lacking, lessons are taught in the existing building until 8 o'clock in the evening. And the functioning of transportation is ineffective. For years we have been striving for the construction of a sewage-treatment plant. It is unthinkable that in the city near which the first mine started operation a hospital has not been built thus far. Where will the fractures and injuries be treated when the Basin starts operation in earnest?"

A worker at the Lublin Leather Industry Plant is still concerned about the difficult housing situation in Lublin. She requested that the opinions of

unionists regarding the distribution of housing be implemented more extensively. Then she raised the problem of individuals who do not work, demanding that the regulations of the statute concerning procedures regarding individuals who do not work be executed more assertively.

A unionist from the WSK [Transportation Equipment Manufacturing Plant] in Swidnik spoke out against the practice of the directors of economic ministries who conduct consultations. "Presently," he said, "consultations are being prepared for the new wage system. But why is it that the upper limit of wages is defined categorically immediately? Also, how can anything be discussed so long as none of us know what funds an enterprise has or if the enterprise is threatened by bankruptcy or if it is making a profit? We do not agree to such consultations. Minister Krasinski simultaneously wants to undertake talks with us concerning price increases. Are we a fire brigade? Already one consultation has not ended well! The government should gather together all the themes it wants to present to us, but not set down the conditions and terms for the talks."

Then the speaker stated that the new trade union movement is not being received with special sympathy at the workplaces. In his opinion, the plant administrators are at great fault for this because the administration representatives--starting with the foreman--are often found among the union opponents, or through indifferent attitudes they unknowingly support the activities of the opportunists.

Further on in his presentation, the WSK unionist opined that the authorities have gone a bit too far in their humanitarianism regarding individuals who not too long ago were active in the political underground and who now are winning concessions for taxis or running private businesses and are prospering much more than those who supported the policy of the state through honest labor and prosocialist attitudes.

Subsequent speakers discussed the evaluations of labor vacations and a model of rest for children and young people. Individuals who this year decided to take expensive vacations stayed mostly at rest places that had accommodations that were poorly furnished, often lacked bathrooms and even plumbing.

"One can be disturbed by the fact," stated one of the speakers, "that to date a socially desirable model of rest for children and young people, which should be based on rest through work, has not been developed for far."

Vice Governor A. Szpringer opined on some of the questions raised by the speakers in his area of competence. He promised that those matters that have been touched upon here and that can be mediated would be reviewed shortly and resolved positively to the greatest extent possible.

A. Springer then stated that it is the unalterable intention of the authorities to create the best possible start in life for young people, but young people must remember that they are living in hard Polish realities, the maladies of which affect all age groups. "Meanwhile," the vice governor said, "the proposal has been made to me to designate exclusively to holders of books for young married couples the sale of all the goods to be received by the province in the course of 2-3 quarters."

The speaker approved the views expressed during the meeting concerning the need for the authorities to comply with the rules of political culture, which should also indicate how public consultations should be conducted. This necessity must be imposed all the more irrefutably if the theme of the consultation is of basic political significance.

Witold Przybylski, PZPR KW secretary, spoke next. He devoted most of his talk to the location of housing in Pulawy. He explained that even in 1980 the ZA [Nitrogen Plants] did not announce a greater need concerning housing construction. Therefore, the land they could eventually have gotten was granted to the railroad workers in Deblin. Presently, the plants are attempting a "coup" on some of that land, with the permission of the manager, to construct buildings. To eliminate the conflict between the ZA and the WDOKP, the PZPR KW in Lublin appealed to the governor of Lublin Province to increase the scope of housing construction in Pulawy. W. Przybylski also spoke about the sale of controlled consumer appliances, stating that it could lead to conflicts among the workers and the workplaces. Such sales, therefore, are of dubious value.

Wieslaw Skrzydlo, PZPR KW first secretary, was the final speaker. Among other things he said: "We wondered if by chance a complaint would be lodged that in organizing such a meeting we wanted to take over the new trade unions and to command them. However, after your first visit you replied that a need exists for such talks between us, and thus we are meeting and will continue to do so."

W. Skrzydlo recalled that during the martial law period some social bodies vanished for a certain time, for example, self-government and the trade unions. As a result of this, the administration became unaccustomed to meeting with community representatives in order to hold consultations and discussions. Now we cannot agree to such trends, and the party organizations must help the unions to be equal to their role as an ally in representing the interests of working people.

The KW first secretary commented on some of the issues raised by the speakers as follows:

A prospect exists for resolving the difficult housing situation. However, one should be aware of the barriers and difficulties in this area. In Lublin about 40,000 people are waiting for housing, and on the one hand intensive efforts are being made so that a person does not have to wait over 10 years for his own roof over his head, and on the other hand, the authorities and the construction industry daily face a dilemma: What should be equipped first, housing or public and communal buildings? Where should heaters and waterpipes be installed first, in apartment houses or in the nurseries and nursery schools? Here is another problem that requires the wisdom of Solomon: land around Lublin that is now used for farming is wanted for building sites. The problem is that this is very good farmland, whose productivity weighs heavily in the province's food balance.

Perhaps we should review the management cadres at some workplaces to evaluate their political and social attitudes as well as their organizational abilities, so that the management apparatus would function better.

Truthfully, Leczna does not look like the best exposition of the 21st century. But it should be remembered that it is encumbered with the stigma of the erroneous concepts assumed in the last decade. In fact, certain ascertainties have now been accepted for realization, others are still in the discussion stage. However, it should be remembered that we now still cannot correct the approved plans because that would be a repetition of the old errors. It will be possible to implement changes in the concepts of Leczna's urbanization and communal and public building plans next year.

The parasitism problem continues to evoke intense emotion. It is estimated that 80 to 90 percent of the public, a huge majority, believe that parasites should be forced to work. In adopting the statute on procedures concerning individuals who do not want to work, the Sejm attempted to reconcile the public's radical demand with the norms of international law. Western propaganda pictures us as a country of total coercion despite the fact that many thousands of people who are capable of working obtain their living expenses from speculation and unknown sources.

Concerning consultations, their criteria are based on two trends. When the method of conducting consultations is questioned, it should be acknowledged that it is not always in compliance with the rules of political culture. But the themes that the government wants to discuss with representatives of society also are often negated, which gives rise to the assumption that one wants to evade the effects of eventual government decisions. The possibility of price increases generates ill will, but we should realize that some moves cannot be avoided: prices are increasing all over the world, to which we are linked economically. Of course, we must protect the poorest people, but the market must also be drained to save the economy.

The KW first secretary then spoke to those assembled about plant trade union organizations keeping in contact with the party's KW in matters requiring immediate mediation. He also said that problems in union activities that are pinpointed when they arise will be investigated thoroughly, after which the province's echelons will provide help in resolving the problem. In accordance with the wishes of the trade unionists, meetings with their representatives will continue.

Lublin Federation of Farmer's Trade Unions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 22 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (B): "A Federation of Farmers' Trade Unions Is Forming: A Provincial Congress of Delegates Deliberated in Lublin"]

[Text] The state farm workers in our region are taking energetic steps to form interenterprise trade union structures and to form a national federation of trade unions. It has been learned that delegates have been selected recently in Zamosc for the national congress. And yesterday the First Provincial Congress of Delegates of the Organizing Committee of the Federation of Farmers' Trade Unions in the Polish People's Republic was held in Lublin.

The Lublin congress was attended by Henryk Domzal, PZPR KW first secretary; Walerian Czurak, ZSL [United Peasant Party] WK [Province Committee] secretary; Wladyslaw Saba, vice governor of Lublin Province; and 67 delegates representing trade unions in all sections of the province's state farms.

After Marian Sienkiewicz, chairman of the federation's organizing committee, read the reports-election report, the mandate, resolutions and proposals, and the returning commissions were selected. Then the discussions began.

The delegates spoke about the difficult housing situation in the rural areas, criticized the low standard of construction, and took note of the insufficient number of stores, schools, nursery schools, health service facilities and houses of culture. They also mentioned the problem of compensation, indicating the need to differentiate wages in accordance with work quality and productivity. The speakers also concentrated on the social problems in their enterprises and discussed the relations of the trade unions with the administrations, stating that they were not always the best.

In their presentations, H. Domzal, W. Czurnak and W. Saba emphasized the objective and creative nature of the discussions. They also commented on some of the problems brought up by the speakers.

The congress passed a resolution accepting the federation's program declaration as the basis for action. In addition, 10 delegates were selected for the national congress, which will be held in Warsaw from 9 to 11 November.

We will publish more extensive news about the deliberations of the congress in the next issue of WIADOMOSCI ZWIAZKOWE.

Obligations in Handling Party Funds

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Ireneusz Leczek: "Party Funds: A Specific Obligation to Economize and Manage Efficiently"]

[Text] In discussing various aspects of party activity and in not shying away from difficult and thorny problems, we seldom discuss the financial side of the problem, as if it were somehow shameful to do so. This should not be! It is clear that for the PZPR the most important program is the idea of the struggle "to build a socialist system in Poland." But no idea can be implemented if it is not supported by a strong material base, or to state it more simply and unequivocally, sufficient financial resources are required to meet action goals. Most certainly this problem is not insignificant because the 11th chapter of the PZPR Statute bears the title "Party Funds and Resources."

The Central Committee's Intraparty Committee deliberated on 4 July under the chairmanship of Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, Central Committee secretary and Politburo candidate member. The draft of the Central Committee's new instructions on amending the processes for collecting and establishing the amount of party dues was the subject of the deliberations. It is true that the presently

obligatory system for calculating and collecting dues was developed after the Ninth PZPR Congress, but inflation, increases in people's wages and incomes, and the changes in the wage system for individual professional groups made further changes in the system necessary.

The Draft of the New "Dues Instructions"

The draft of the new "dues instructions" was submitted to the POP's [basic party organization] for consultations which, incidentally, is proof of the democratization of party life; prior to the Ninth Congress, the Central Committee Secretariat decided this matter on its own. In essence, the aim of the proposed reform is to establish dues based on average earnings that are calculated in accordance with the appropriate resolution of the Council of Ministers. It is anticipated that the dues will amount to 1 percent of total earnings, excluding the progression that has been obligatory so far. Calculating dues will be come simplified; the amount will become more proportional relative to the different professional groups belonging to the PZPR.

In paying all kinds of financial obligations, we should consider if we are paying the proper amount, but more important is the question: For what purposes will the collected money be used? As I have written, the general statement that "we are paying to maintain the party" is only a general answer. I will attempt to answer this question more precisely using Katowice Province's party organization as an example. No one, neither private individuals nor institutions, likes to have his budget analyzed. However, based on the assumption that there cannot be any taboo subject, we decided to make the party's budget a more open matter.

The paying of party dues is one of the conditions of PZPR membership that is specified in the statute. In giving a part of our earnings to realize the statutory goals, we also identify ourselves with these goals. Also, the need to remember to pay dues is an element of the duty to maintain contact with the parent party organization. That is why, among other things, simplified methods are not used to "collect" party dues, for example, by deducting dues for wages.

Party dues contribute 78 percent of Katowice's party funds. Where do the other funds come from?

We Go Back to the Statute

Article 81 states: "Party funds come from membership dues, income from party publications and from other sources." Article 83 states: "The party's funds and assets are managed by the Central Committee or by lower-level party committees for certain areas determined by the Central Committee." In accordance with that written above, the Central Committee determines annually the PZPR KW budget. In accordance with the budget, 22 percent of the annual disbursements are obtained in one way or another from Central Committee subsidies derived from non-dues sources. The the framework of its own budget, the KW determines disbursements to the individual city, city-gmina and gmina committees.

As can be seen from the above data, the payment of party dues has a decisive effect on the state of party funds. The disciplining of individual comrades and entire party organizations attests to the degree to which this party obligation should be discharged. In August, in Katowice Province, 92 percent of party dues were paid. It is characteristic that as the party strengthens itself internally, the degree to which it discharges its financial obligations grows. In the collection of party dues, party organizations in the large cities are in the forefront. For example, 97.1 percent of the comrades in Jastrzebie paid their August dues; in Katowice it was 95.2 percent, and in Czeladza it was 96.7 percent. Even better results are obtained by the small gmina organizations where it is easier to mobilize the "late payers." PZPR members in such gminas as Zebrzydowice, Miedzna, Lyski and Tapkowice were paid up 100 percent.

"A portion of the funds derived from dues can be allocated to the POP's" (Article 83, PZPR Statute). Party organizations lower than the city level can keep 10 percent of the collected dues. The method for their allocation is regulated by regulations developed by the KW. Flowers can be purchased for occasional affairs as well as posters, press subscriptions and so forth. Funds can also be used to pay for decorations and renting halls in which meetings are held. If an outlay exceeds regulations but is considered to be essential, the executive board of the city committee must approve the outlay.

"Party committees and organizations must manage funds economically and properly" (Article 83, PZPR Statute). The management of party money is subject to the same economic law as the management of budgets for workplaces and private homes. Everyone knows about the justification for economy in a time of crisis and inflation. The PZPR KW is using its money to finance organizational-program activities; it covers the costs of the party apparatus as well as building maintenance and transportation costs. We must manage well so that there will be enough funds for everything. In comparison with previous years, costs have increased several times over. Today one propaganda poster costs over 10,000 zlotys.

To manage outlays and include them in the budget, the Katowice committee has developed a savings program which, when realized, will reduce outlays by 7 percent this year. The purchase of all kinds of equipment has been limited to the essential minimum. No investments are being made. The remodeling of the party headquarters will be limited to maintaining it in its present condition.

Part of the party's budget is designated for telephone service. Compared to 1980, telephone and telex costs are increasing at a slower rate than postal tariffs. In several committees, within the framework of savings, telephone numbers have "relieved" the postal system of its duties. Economic analysis of telephone costs have a very characteristic significance.

Structure of Outlays

The structure of outlays for specific committees and their justification are reviewed by the audit commissions and superior echelons. In addition to a statement of legality, this also enables the development of resolutions to save money in the future.

A great policy is always linked to large funds. Such are the objective, obligatory laws; a more or less emotional approach to this problem changes nothing. Thus we must always remember that the party must have enough money to realize its program goals, that they must be disbursed in a way that is in accord with the spirit of the statute so that maximum results can be achieved by optimizing the outlays.

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FURTHER REPORTAGE ON PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES

Effective Ideological-Political Work

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Tolypyho: "Thinking About the Party: For a More Effective Ideological and Political Activity"]

[Text] Every party subordinates its activity to specific political goals. The party program, which includes its overall and intermediate tasks alongside with their political interpretation, serves as a political indicator for party activities.

The PZPR program has not been contained in any single document, even though it has been synthesized in the introductory part of the Statute. The party congresses have specified its intentions, adapting them to the current sociopolitical requirements of the situation. Thanks to such a flexible approach the most urgent goals can be put before the party in the given period of time. At the same time, however, a serious threat appears: the decisions taken by the plenary sessions of the Central Committee are not always in accord with the long-term premises of programmatic congresses or of ideological declarations. Significant in this respect was the decade of the 1970's. The negative results were further deepened because they were happening under the pretense of implementing the party program.

The Ninth Congress announced that a document would be prepared in which the programmatic goals contained in the PZPR Statute and in the resolution of this Congress would be further elaborated. In February 1982 the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee submitted for all-party deliberation a draft ideological and programmatic declaration: "What Are We Fighting For, What Are We Aiming At?" Since then--therefore, for too long--we are still waiting for the results of this discussion. Similar widespread sentiments have prevailed concerning the publication of documents dealing with the roots of the crises in People's Poland. The same reservations apply to the problem of the so-called settling of accounts, the corollary to previous violations of the fundamental principles of the socialist system and to the distortion of the Marxist-Leninist theory by the former party and state leadership.

Sensitivity to problems of complaints, proposals, and demands is one of the lessons drawn from the previous decade. If, however, a citizen addresses his complaint to a superior authority, it means either that he had been unable to obtain satisfaction from the decision made by the immediate arbiter, or that he did not trust him. For this reason the person to whom the complaint was addressed, should check its justification himself. The practice is different. Complaints are sent to local authorities who had not been the object of the author's interest. There is little comfort in the fact that such practices occur not in the party, but in the state and economic administration.

The political strength of the party lies, *inter alia*, in the fact that its members exert moral and political influence on the attitude of the nonparty people, that they advocate and defend the party line. That should be the rule in all circumstances, even under the most difficult conditions. Many of us, however, have become used to political struggle waged "at the top," which assumes the form of centrally organized campaigns and actions. Moreover, such activities are addressed to people who represent attitudes which have been revealed to us. The most important, however, are struggles waged "down below," where the addressee and the circumstances of his actions are best known. That demands increased activity on the part of the party rank and file.

The political role of the party in the economy requires innovativeness. It would be wrong to identify the political leadership with the economic one. Party committees (in this case at the enterprise level) cannot assume the role of the economic management. At present, given the economic reform, the party does not abandon the economy, but neither does it assume economic functions. It assumes political functions in the economy. But there is still no specific definition of powers discharged by the basic elements, nor of their duties and tasks in this domain. An important role in the enterprises devolves upon party members enrolled in trade unions and employees' self-management bodies. That is the benchmark of their attitude and determination. There is, however, still no clear definition of the party duty: "Every party member in the trade unions." An urgent task of the basic party elements concerns the political activity of party members in employee self-management. This involves its personnel makeup, its political stance, and its image which accords with the socialist character of the state and of the enterprise. As employee self-management bodies are being founded, party organizations should influence their operations in the interest of the labor force, according to the letter of the law.

Elections to the Sejm and to people's councils are drawing nearer. It is the wish of the party that people's councils should become a genuine master of the house within their bailiwicks. Hence, the need for adequate preparation of party members for the [electoral] campaign. Specific decisions of the central authorities are needed in advance, as well as approximately fixed dates [of election]. Preliminary actions cannot be built on the instinct of local authorities, nor on the rank-and-file initiative.

The party intended, and intends, to turn the national reconciliation movement into a *de facto* platform of discussion and unification of postures assumed by various political forces active in our country. Such an intention does not

absolve party members of their obligation to play a leading role within the national reconciliation movement.

An important problem of political activity involves the process of overcoming the crisis in the domain of social consciousness, where the destructive impact of the political enemy is most painfully felt. Above all, we have to regain credibility among those who view the future in a way similar to us, but are not yet with us. The society strongly criticizes the improper attitude toward work exhibited by a part of the citizenry. People are upset by concessions made to parasites, embezzlers, and those who try to disorganize our life. Such concessions cannot be explained away by humane treatment of citizens. Humanism has to be applied both ways. The party should resume its surveillance over restoring order in these matters.

Raising the political level of party members requires a decisive improvement in the approach to party training. "Every party activist an educated Marxist" is the directive which should be binding not only for the PZPR aktiv.

In the political activity veteran party members should not be forgotten. The centenary celebrations of the Polish workers' movement have satisfied only a few, with commemorative medals. It would be worthwhile to ponder the possibility of awarding state decorations to a larger number of comrades with a certain party seniority. The proposal to issue a party badge should also be considered; its carrying would become an external symbol of political commitment and or organizational membership.

Three main groups in the differentiated Polish society are at present defined according to their political orientation: supporters of the socialist system, the silent majority of those who hesitate to assume a determined posture, and the adversaries of the system, represented by the antisocialist forces. It is a division couched in very generalized terms, and excessively based on guesswork. A more detailed interpretation should, therefore, go beyond Marxist analysis, and reflect the class- and stratum-reality of the so-called antisocialist forces, as well as their social basis. That is a precondition for defining specific measures to be undertaken against them. In this domain the society expects from the authorities a more determined posture. The problem is made even easier since the organizers of the antisocialist opposition are well known. The only thing missing is the formal authorization to submit them to unambiguous measures aimed at neutralizing their misdeeds. Magnanimity and tolerance, appropriate for those who had drawn [correct] conclusions from their previous experience, cannot serve to facilitate, the hostile activities of those who unambiguously await another opportunity to organize the opposition openly. That should be taken into account, for instance, in employment policy.

Certainly, the scope of problems to be solved exceeds the possibilities of the 13th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. But the party activities are not restricted to plenary sessions. The thing to do is to fix a schedule of actions, and consistently to implement the assumed tasks. Only a conscious and effectively realized policy can spur the masses of party members and the majority of the population to increased political and socioeconomic activity.

Party Serves Workers' Interests Better

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zbigniew Jurkiewicz]

[Text] An extremely difficult stage in the struggle to overcome the socioeconomic crisis is drawing to an end; another no less difficult and complicated one is now starting and imposing new challenges. That is how the leitmotiv of the conference of secretaries of PZPR plant committees might be presented in its briefest form; it has determined the way of thinking both of the 2 rapporteurs and of the 18 speakers in the discussion, including Kazimierz Barcikowski, who summed up the debate.

The first stage--as literally all the speakers deplored--had forced a general concentration on creating conditions for internal tranquillity and stability in our socioeconomic reality, and on spurring the entire urban and rural apparatus of production. Because of the circumstances, which no one in Poland has to be reminded of, that task had to dominate politically, and to be implemented in the sharp, at times even dramatic, struggle against the well-organized enemy of the socialist order, systematically abetted from abroad. Nonetheless, at the threshold of autumn 1983 the conditions have been essentially achieved, albeit not to a degree which would justify easy optimism, and this fact is of decisive significance for the future.

Thus, first of all, tranquillity as well as order have reappeared in Poland, even though the attempts of the opposition, bent upon the demolition of those achievements and on using all possible means for their destruction, have not yet stopped.

Next followed the return to normal political coexistence, combined with stabilization of social conditions and an increased sentiment of reliance on our own forces. Those changes, even though still weak and fragile because every step of the way they are permanently tested by painful afflictions in our conditions of work and private life, nonetheless allow us by now to think about overcoming the crisis through development, and not to be alarmed instead by an even deeper sinking into impotence.

Thus, the spiral of falling production, decay in major spheres of productive capacities, and disintegration of work processes was finally broken. Thus, the crisis tendency was turned into a trend of development, rebirth, repair of economy-steering machinery, as well as by systematic, even though barely felt by people, overfulfillment of previously set cautious goals for raising the economy. And, as shown by the results achieved in the first 8 months of this year, it is a trend already consolidated, gathering speed, and--what is most significant--firmly rounded in the first effects of the economic reform machinery in action.

This evaluation of the preliminary period of raising the country out of the crisis by means indicated at the Ninth PZPR Congress, fairly extensively rooted in the conference proceedings, might possibly elicit the impression that the secretaries of the plant committees of the party that leads the society in this historical operation met on 19 September in the Central Committee building in order to crown their achievements. Nothing could be more misleading. The assessment of changes already achieved, or being achieved, and initiating the progress of stability, served in this case solely as the starting point and recapitulation of assets, in order to plan for the future, to concentrate the might of the entire party, its allies, all the working people, on tomorrow's tasks.

The conference has above all unambiguously reflected the conviction of the party that along with the consolidation of stability, the center of gravity of the efforts undertaken by the party as a whole, and--under its guidance--by all the forces committed to the improvement of socialism and serving the welfare of the working people, has shifted from the political to the economic front. K. Barcikowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, in his summation, actually called all the party members to reorientate their thinking and actions toward a course which leads to improved organization of labor and achievement of more effective economic results. Manfred Gorywoda, after an extensive exposition which explained how this could and should be done, stated in his report that the continuation of the normalization process throughout the country depends, and will depend, more and more on qualitatively better economic achievements. In this respect, the statements of the debates might be summed up in their claim that by now we--the party, the trade unions, employee self-management and territorial self-government, our allied social organizations, representatives of the working people as a whole, all citizens prepared to contribute in an active way to the country's welfare--are stepping into an equally difficult and equally important, but qualitatively new, stage of our struggle for the development of economic initiative, productivity of labor, and more effective inculcation of the reform machinery. Every one of their postulates seemed to have two edges: a critical edge, which shows how extensive are the weaknesses which occur in the workplaces in every domain of their economic activity, why are they so dangerous, and what their roots are; and a conceptual edge, which sets out specific solutions which let us achieve the goals expected by the working people, and remove the barriers which block the road that leads there.

What tasks did the conference move forward to the front line of attack on the economic front? Given the enormity of problems referred to at the conference, controversial ones as a rule, there is no easy answer to this question. It seems, however, that four problems have towered above all the remaining ones.

First of all, what to do in order not to disappoint the great hopes which the working people in general set on the continued, consistent implementation of the economic reform. The answer was two-pronged. Above all, bureaucratic resistance, prejudices, and the inability to find one's way under the circumstances have prevailed in one part of the leading cadres, while concealed ill will and nostalgia for command rule dominate in another one.

Next--and this is the second problem--both at the top (where there has been at least a year's delay in initiating the action) and in the enterprises (where there has been evasion, avoidance, sham implementation), it has to be understood that the linchpin of the entire reform consists of tight linkage between the principles of remuneration and the effects, productivity, quality of labor, and what follows, between the enterprise profits and its efficient production.

The third problem might be defined as a serious anxiety raised by the prevailing inflation, or, to be more precise, by the activities of productive and trade enterprises which drive up inflation. The secretaries agreed in claiming that this leads to increased costs of living, doubly resented and protested by employees' families: first, as a financial burden, and second, as a proof of drastic social injustice in dividing the costs of overcoming the crisis. In this context it has been critically stated that the mistake committed in the delayed presentation to public opinion, both of the actual proposal to raise food prices and of the need to accommodate the costs of agricultural production, should be redressed.

And, finally, the fourth prevailing tendency, both in the reports and in the discussion, concerned trade union affairs, or, to be more precise, on the one hand the place that they have already assumed in our life, and on the other hand the obstacles which prevent the unions from fully and equally participating in all the most important decision-making which concerns the work places, industrial branches, and the country. That was very likely the broadest mainstream in the discussion, initiated by a special report by Stanislaw Gabrielski, which, to do it justice, merits a separate presentation. In this summary review, one only has to note that the conference summed up the party position in this matter in a statement, formulated by K. Barcikowski, that the great and responsible task of party organizations consists of realizing the scope of the problems and the matters which should be the object of action common to all trade unions, since they also all have in common the obligation of service and the duty to be motivated by the interest of the working people.

Party Activities for Work Force, Economy

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 24-25 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (rk) about the plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bialystok: "To Inspire and To Organize in the Interest of the Work Force and of the Economy"]

[Text] The place, the role, and the tasks of party organizations, and directly of party members in self-management bodies in towns and in the countryside, were discussed at yesterday's plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bialystok, held on 23 September. The debate, chaired by Wlodzimierz Kolodziejczuk, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, included Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, as well as invited representatives of the administration and of social and self-management organizations from the entire province.

As Tadeusz Doroszko, secretary of the Voivodship Committee, pointed out in the introductory part of the report which initiated the debate, the activity of the party in self-management bodies is a form of implementing and strengthening the leading and guiding role of the party in society and in the state. Of prime importance, therefore, is the effectiveness of actions and the party's skill in shaping the proper activity of the authorities, of the administration, and of the social and self-management organizations.

Thus, it is not only the considerable participation of party members in people's councils (41-46 percent), but also the activity of the groups of councilors-PZPR members in the city councils of Bialystok, Bielsk Podlaski, Hajnowka, Siemiatycze, and Zabłudow, should be positively assessed.

Under the conditions of the economic reform and the overcoming of the economic crisis, the activity of employee self-management acquires particular significance. Out of 127 enterprises all over the province, which have the right to such activity, self-management bodies already exist in 122 enterprises. They have already initiated in practice many valuable actions, which have contributed to the improvement of the economic situation and to increased production. In the Sierzan Bialystok Wool Industry Plants, in the Bialystok Poultry Farm, and in the Hajnowka Dry Timber Distillation Works, for instance, the self-management bodies use their rights properly.

Unfortunately, as indicated by research carried out in some selected works, the activity of employees' self-management bodies reveals serious shortcomings, because a considerable part of the work force, and even of members of employee councils, do not know their rights. Almost three-quarters of the employees in the enterprises researched, as well as nearly one-half of the party members, have no idea what self-management is supposed to do at present.

One is also bothered by the fact that the opinion of self-management, in particular in matters of importance to the work force, is [frequently] ignored. In the Suprasl Furniture Cooperative, for instance, it was resolved that posting new bonus rules and regulations on the blackboard would do, without even asking opinion of the supervisory board, of the trade union, or of the workers.

It came out during the debate that there are many controversies between the employees, self-management, and the trade unions concerning problems of jurisdiction and cooperation. Hence the conflicts which party organizations are unable to reconcile. Nor do attempts by some managements to dictate to these organs facilitate self-management activity or contribute to improved climate.

As shown in the debate--in which, among others, Stefan Sienkiewicz, Jan Karczewski, Adam Kadzior, Wiktor Antoniuk, Stanislaw Wojtach, and Jozef Czaplajewicz had the floor--the situation in the self-management domain seems differentiated. Party organizations and party members must be active in shaping social and economic consciousness, in strengthening cooperation between all the elements in the interest of the work force and the economy. It was stressed that party groups should influence the self-management bodies, provide inspiration, and organize them to carry out the tasks set up by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

This duty equally concerns party organizations active in the field of territorial and rural self-government, where--as was also pointed out--there is still a lot to be done to improve social justice and to overcome bureaucracy.

Problems raised in the report and in the debate were dealt with by Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee. Invoking the difficult socioeconomic situation, he stated that party work in towns and in the countryside must, under the circumstances, be steadily improved. Required are activity and drive to overcome difficulties, to develop production which the people need. That means production of good quality sought by the market and costs based on honest accounting. The promotion of group interests should therefore be eliminated; instead the common welfare should be the target. The tasks thus conceived, the secretary said, require an improved working style of party organizations, and above all the tightening of links with the work force, with different milieus, with everyone.

The plenary session voted a resolution which outlines the forms and methods of party work in elective bodies, in self-management, cooperatives, and trade unions.

In its organizational part the plenary session has co-opted Stanisław Jankowski, manager of the preparatory workshop in the Fasty spinning division, and Jan Sulima, secretary of the plant committee in the May Day Metalwork Cooperative, as members of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board. It also confirmed the appointment of Stanisław Szczerba as head of the Voivodship Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, and Krzysztof Wszederowny as head of the chancellery.

Katowice Plenum on Ideological Education

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 24-25 Sep 83 pp 1, 2, 3

[Article by Wojciech Jaros, Bohdan Knichowiński, and Adam Molenda: "Plenary Session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice; To Link Ideological Education Closely With Everyday Practice"]

[Text] The plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, convened on Friday in Katowice, dealt with the problem of improving the methods and style of ideological actions undertaken by the party organization. The participants tried to answer the question of how to manage ideological, explanatory, and educational work, in order to convince and win over the broadest masses of the population to the party policy and program, and how successfully to implement the line adopted at the Ninth PZPR Congress, the line of socialist renewal of accord with all those willing to take part in the construction of socialist Poland, and of simultaneous struggle against the political enemy.

The plenary debates were chaired by Zbigniew Messner, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee PZPR; they were attended by Jerzy Romanik, member of the Central Committee Politburo, as well as by members of the central party leadership from Katowice province and invited guests, Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the SD Voivodship Committee, Jan Gregorczyk, secretary of the ZSL Voivodship Committee and Wieslaw Nowicki, chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON] in Katowice.

Presenting the report of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board, Jan Zielinski, secretary of the Voivodship Committee, recalled the political directive formulated at the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which declared that the party should be the same but not just the same as before. That would be determined by the attitude of PZPR members, by consistent party campaigns at all levels, by uncompromising compliance with the statutory principles and Leninist standards of inner party life. The ideological activity of the provincial party organization is aimed at implementing these goals.

The report of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board concentrated on the style and methods of ideological activity, pointing out that the resolution to be adopted by the 13th Central Committee Plenum, now in preparation, should provide a new incentive for ideological work.

Reporting how the tasks in this domain, set up last year at the Voivodship Committee plenary session, had been implemented, Zielinski recalled the difficult conditions under which those tasks had to be undertaken and then continuously amended and brought up to date, in order to fit the changing sociopolitical situation. In the educational domain things went very bad then; some lecturers crumbled away, some centers of ideological and educational activity were closed down, others just pretended to operate. Party education had to be built up from scratch. An enormous amount of cleaning up has actually been done, and the current 1983-84 year of party schooling, can be regarded as fully organized.

The tasks the Voivodship Committee Executive Board has set for the provincial ideological front have been successfully implemented. Among them there were efforts to bestow appropriate rank on ideological and educational work at all levels, especially among the rank and file in party organizations in enterprises and workshops. This had to be achieved thanks to:

- submitting and consulting the new organizational structure, which would strengthen the local centers of ideological and educational work, allowing for reactivation or reconstruction of enterprise centers;
- systematic recruitment and verification of the aktiv and staff of the ideological apparatus, capable of running this activity;
- within the newly created framework safeguarding conditions for propagating Marxism-Leninism, and for treating the educational work as subordinated to the ideology of the PZPR.

Ideological Work in All the Milieus

Referring to the values held in highest esteem by the big-industry working class, the mainstay of the Katowice provincial party organization, the Voivodship Committee secretary then emphasized the significance of the tasks posed before the party organization of Silesia and the Coal Basin. This task implies integration with the industrial workforce and shaping appropriate postures among people who have moved to the region from all over Poland. He pointed out, inter alia, that thanks to steady, strenuous party work, the political opposition's appeals for the creation of an underground structure, for boycott, and for "go-slow" work found no compliance here.

It is too early, however, for self-satisfaction or truce in the ideological struggle. It is true that the most dangerous period is over, but we now enter the most difficult times which behoove us to wage this struggle every day, in a systematic way, in all the milieus.

It is, indeed, true that among the majority of the technical intelligentsia, permanently linked with the working class by common struggle and responsibility, there prevail propitious trends toward realizing what is the most important for people's Poland, but some groups had cut themselves off the traditions and patterns of the working class, even before they had assimilated the most valuable patterns of the intelligentsia. Such an assessment refers in particular to a considerable part of the humanistic intelligentsia in our region.

Nor should we ignore the role which party organizations in rural milieus should play in order to achieve our long-term goals, including the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance. The Voivodship Committee's Executive Board report also raised the problem of justified criticism voiced by the working people and addressed to the thin stratum of private owners who make their living at their cost. The drawing of effective conclusions out of this criticism will render party work, and party safeguards for social justice, more trustworthy.

Among the positive trends which prevail in the provincial party organization are halting the decrease in party membership, and more and more frequent admission of new, mostly young, PZPR members. Simultaneously, a strong group of a new, young aktiv has been shaped, an aktiv consolidated in political struggle, of high, and continuously raised, political, ideological, and organizational qualifications. This is a proven aktiv which the party can rely on and should value highly.

There is, however, no lack of difficult matters which should be negatively assessed. With them in mind, the tasks of ideological work in all the work forces and milieus have been specifically set up. Their main goal is to shape the socialist consciousness of individuals and of society as a whole, to struggle against all attempts to split the political unity of the working class and to oppose its class interest to the alleged nationwide interest. Among the problems which determine the direction of ideological activity are:

--inculcating principles of socialist justice and social equality and creating conditions for their implementation, both in the struggle against manifestations of profound social injustice born out of the crisis, and in the struggle against demagogical slogans of primitive egalitarianism;

--shaping the feeling of links within the national community, by promoting proper attitudes toward work and professional duty, as well as toward the state and civic obligations;

--propagating socialist contents of patriotism and internationalism and rebuilding the painful devastation in social awareness wrought by the anti-Soviet and antisocialist enemy propaganda;

--progress of socialism and socialist democracy, conceived as a strengthening factor in the state. It should stem from cooperation with the ZSI and SD, from promoting the role of PRON and of social organizations.

Ideological problems linked with the implementation of the constitutional principle of separation between church and state were also discussed. The supremacy of civic duty and the general aspiration to social accord were stressed.

The Role of Party Members in the Workplace

The most important front of ideological activity runs in industrial plants. Experience indicates the need for intensified individual party work--talking to party members, assigning them party tasks for implementation and control, promoting forms of political and organizational activity in commissions and aktiv groups. Order must be restored in ideological matters in all enterprise and workshop party organizations. Meetings devoted to those problems all too often are dominated by problems of production and social welfare. Although by now progress has been achieved compared to the situation during the 1981-82 school year, it is still unsatisfactory. The entire aktiv, all the party cadres, must be mobilized for this activity. Enterprise and workshop party organizations should undertake tasks linked to the still not well enough known economic reform, such as, for instance, the rebirth of work emulation, rationalization, innovativeness. Together with the ZSMP, young people should be committed to improving the system of their social and vocational adaptation; they should be inculcated with habits of economical and thrifty work, and assimilate the best qualities of the leading workers in production and on the shop floor. The system of nonfinancial remuneration of people of outstanding performance should also be verified and restored.

No one should ignore the role PZPR members should play in the workplace. Their duty to set examples is inscribed in the statute, and its implementation should be systematically verified. Such problems as party criticism and self-criticism, uninhibited discussion of all subjects, and practical implementation of the principles of interparty democracy and democratic centralism are all involved here.

Fight Against Ideological Diversion

Journalists are an important link in the ideological front. High demands are set up for them, and they should be assessed according to their achievement. Their profession, after all, is a political one, and the effects of their activity should be political.

Supporting journalists in their fight for access to information, the provincial party body sets up new difficult tasks for the press, concerning, inter alia, countermanding the ideological diversion of Western broadcasting services, propagation of patterns of socialist attitude to work and life, shaping popular sentiments, spreading knowledge of the country's situation, including making public opinion familiar with the economic reform.

The ideological activity of the party has enormous significance in creating conditions of cultural development, propagation of culture, and its broad accessibility among all the social strata. A considerable part of the opposition derives from the cultural world. But, at the same time, there are many prominent creative people in those milieus, activists, and animators of cultural life dedicated to socialism and to the ideals of the party. The uncompromising political struggle which goes on there demands intensified ideological work.

Continuous care and support should be given to all forms of cultural life among workers. Nobody has absolved the workplaces of their [duty] to sponsor culture and arts, or to discharge educational functions. Cultural centers in the enterprises should be saved from liquidation threatened by actions allegedly dictated by the economic reform.

Similar remarks apply to the rural scene as well. Very soon, a system of cultural participation in village life will be introduced all over the province.

If ideological activity is to be effective, especially among the youth, those who educate the young should not be forgotten: much depends on their personal example, their ideological commitment, and their social sensibility. Periodical reviews to assess the leading cadres among teachers and in the academic world will continue, and the system of awarding teachers, raising their sociopolitical, ideological and pedagogical education, will be improved. The scope of teaching ideological subjects will be broadened in high schools and universities. The socialist unions of academic youth--the Association of Polish Students [ZSP], the Socialist Union of Polish Youth [ASMP], the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW] and the instructors' circles of the Polish Scout Union [ZMP]--have a major role to play in the intensification of educational work. They can rely on the support of the party authorities in their schools, but their activity also should genuinely carry out the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

In 1983-84 the party's ideological and educational work will spread to all the milieus. It should be kept in mind that society, having realized that

the opposition had no positive program, has shifted its political orientation and sentiments towards the party, which has such a program and consistently implements it in practice. The political enemy, however, has still not given up. Therefore, a major task and major responsibility await all PZPR members in their fight for political consciousness. They should do everything possible to perform those duties, stressed the report of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board.

A Multifaceted Discussion

A lively, multifaceted discussion then followed, with the participation of Boguslaw Kabala, Voivodship Committee member and chairman of the Voivodship Committee Ideology, Information and Propaganda Commission; Stanislaw Horak, writer and member of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board; Roman Grebosz, Voivodship Committee member and director of the Interregional Party School in Katowice; Zygmunt Dziubek, member of the Voivodship Committee Ideological Commission and deputy editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA; Roman Mirski, secretary of the PZPR City Committee in Gliwice; Helena Mikulska, secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in the Zygmunt Steelworks in Bytom; Jerzy Milian, musician, member of the National Culture Council; Janusz Jaros, first secretary of the PZPR City Committee in Jastrzebie; Boleslaw Lonak, head of the Regional Center for Party Work in Chrzanow; Norbert Muzykant, Voivodship Committee member, shift foreman in the Makoszowy coal mine in Zabrze; Stefan Pyzalski, Voivodship Committee member, workshop manager in the Bobrek Steelworks in Bytom; Stanislaw Lowicki, Central Committee and Voivodship Committee member, motorman in the Public Transportation Enterprise in Bytom; Stanislaw Mazur, first secretary of the City Committee in Poreba; Wsiewolod Wolczew, member of the Voivodship Committee Ideology Commission, Silisian Science Institute in Katowice; Jerzy Wiezala, Voivodship Committee lecturer; Jaroslaw Klima, vice chairman of the ZSMP National Board, chairman of the ZSMP Voivodship Board; Andrzej Zak, first secretary of the basic party organization of writers; Adam Szpila, Voivodship Committee member, first secretary of the Plant Committee in the Ziemowit coal mine in Tychy.

The ideological activity of the party, as many speakers pointed out, is a major task which conditions the state of consciousness of the entire nation. Recent years have clearly exposed the imperfection and the low efficiency of many actions carried out both inside the party and in the domain of the political class-education of society. The recent situation has forced party committees and organizations to use these activities under peculiar conditions of open or concealed confrontation with counterrevolutionary forces hostile to the realities of the socialist state. In such a struggle for the socialist image of Poland and her society, the party consolidates and gains strength, rebuilding its social prestige. The new, young PZPR aktiv, tested in the confrontation, successfully uses better, more efficient methods of implementing the leading role of the party in its native environment. The debaters quoted numerous examples of increased significance of actions in the field of ideology, shared their own experiences, pointed out the still insufficient activity of many party members in promoting socialist attitudes and ideas. The practical importance of the thesis on equal treatment of political, ideological and economic activities was stressed; only combined activity in all three domains

is capable of eliminating the hostile influence of the antisocialist opposition and leading the country out of the crisis.

The comrades submitted many motions and remarks concerning the further improvement of ideological and educational work and propaganda. The impact of individual postures of all PZPR members, both in professional and in party activities, was stressed. Proposals were submitted for specific actions through particularly important opinion-shaping instruments, such as the mass media, party publications, factory broadcasts and press. Special duty devolves upon party forces in the creative milieus, which continue to exert a traditionally strong influence on the consciousness of society. Of particular significance is the increased impact on the younger generation, which is still looking for its place in society, and is frequently exposed to ideologically hostile, alien infiltration of antiparty forces. Much remains to be done here by party member teachers and educators, as well as by youth organizations and parents themselves.

The speakers shared their conviction that many organizations had not yet worked out an efficient machinery for transmitting ideological knowledge to their rank and file. There has been considerable improvement lately, and new, more effective methods of ideological enrichment of the consciousness of PZPR members have been gradually inculcated, but much remains to be done in order to raise the efficiency and the offensive spirit in improving Marxist-Leninist education. The party school network is not utilized in full, proper cadres of party school lecturers and teachers are frequently scarce. The speakers postulated steady and systematic training in theory and methodology for party aktiv at all levels. The positive experience of many organizations and committees should be propagated and creatively developed.

It has been pointed out that consistent implementation of the line of the Ninth PZPR Congress aims at the participation of all party members in the consolidation of consciousness and of class criteria among the population. The party aktiv expects much from the approaching 13th Central Committee Plenum, which will deal with many important ideological principles, as well as with methods of ideological and educational activity. But at the same time the aktiv is aware that the effective influence of the party as the vanguard of the working class will most of all depend on the commitment of the rank-and-file party members, armed with rich sociopolitical knowledge.

The plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee then unanimously voted its resolution [text follows this article].

Zbigniew Messner took the floor to sum up the debate. The obvious need for ideological activity, the Voivodship Committee first secretary declared, must be satisfied by means of our more and more intensive, consistent actions. Their effectiveness will grow even more if an ever larger circle of members of the provincial party organization are armed with ideological knowledge, master the contents and the forms which allow us to reach with convincing arguments every man who is not against socialism, against us. We have to do it day after day. The approaching report and election campaign in the party will provide a touchstone for active commitment by every party organization

and committee, concerning our ideological potential and the real strength of our political influence as well.

The plenary session of the Voivodship Committee was wound up by singing the Internationale.

Resolution Adopted by the Plenary Session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice

Party committees and organizations should concentrate attention and actively develop ideological and educational work among the industrial working class... Ideological activity among the intelligentsia should be stepped up.

Members of the Voivodship Committee state that the posing of topics concerned with the ideological activity of the party at today's plenary session was by all means correct. In the current sociopolitical and economic situation, ideological activity in the party and in society acquires great significance.

The construction of socialism does not mean solely the reshaping of economic and social relations; it means at the same time the building of a new educated society, aware of its historical, political, and economic role in creating a better socialist future. In everyday party work this requires combined, equal treatment of problems of ideology, economics, and politics.

For years now, serious shortcomings, also in Katowice province, have grown up in ideological work and in the methods of its implementation. They have had a negative impact on the state of social and political consciousness in part of the population, which has retained its passive attitude towards the process of socialist renewal, thus impeding the solution of the national crisis. They also provided, inter alia, a breeding ground for stepping up the activity of forces hostile to socialist Poland.

Under those circumstances it should be stressed that the ideological activity of PZPR members and party committees operating in the largest center of the working class assumes an exceptionally great importance, and involves special responsibility of the party vis-a-vis the working class.

1. The Voivodship Committee, having listened to the report of the Executive Board, and having taken into account the motions submitted during the debate, puts the party committees and organizations, as well as party members active in social bodies and organizations, under obligation to get meticulously acquainted with the content of the Voivodship Committee plenary debates, and to start their implementation.

2. Members of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice, present at its plenary session, stress the duty of the entire provincial party organization to wage its ideological activity in a systematic and consistent manner, in accordance with the "Main Trends of Ideological Activity of the Provincial Party Organization in 1983." Those should be creatively supplemented by the experience derived from party activity of local committees in various social and professional milieus.

3. The Voivodship Committee declares that during its present term in office the provincial party organization has achieved a certain progress in the structural arrangement, programming, and implementing its ideological and educational activity, as well as in training. This progress should be consolidated, above all paying attention to the ideological activity of party organizations in smaller enterprises, including those in the countryside.

4. Party committees and organizations should concentrate their attention on, and actively promote their ideological and educational activity among, the industrial working class, which provides the motivation for and is the mainstay of our provincial party organization. At the same time, ideological activity among the intelligentsia should be strengthened.

5. Party committees are put under obligation to organize their ideological and educational activities, especially among younger workers, as well as among school and university students. Therefore the Voivodship Committee plenary session recommends a comprehensive review of the implementation of the 14 January 1983 resolution of the PZPR Voivodship Committee to be carried out before the end of the year.

6. The Voivodship Committee approves the work of party members active in PRON, in trade unions, in self-management and social organizations. These members play an important role in the broadening of the political impact of the party on the population. Hence, all party organizations are put under obligation to grant their members the assistance necessary to carry out the social tasks entrusted to them. Before the end of the year, a party meeting should be devoted to these problems.

7. Information and propaganda activity is an important component of the ideological work. The Voivodship Committee considers further improvement of the information system necessary both at the provincial level and at the level of local party organizations. It is recommended, inter alia:

--to form city and enterprise groups for information, and to define the scope and the forms of their operation;

--to convene together with the Regional Centers for Party Work, periodical meetings of the provincial propaganda aktiv;

--to arrange systematic cooperation of city, city-gmina, and gmina party committees and organizations with editorial boards of local newspapers, and with enterprise bulletins and radio stations;

--to check how party organizations and party groups in enterprises use information and training material, internal party publications, leaflets, et al.

8. The Voivodship Committee plenary session obliges all the editorial boards in press, radio and TV to comply with the remarks submitted by party organizations which aim to improve the adaptation of programmatic materials to current social needs; to pay more attention to changes in the party itself; and to publish more substantial ideological articles propagating Marxism-Leninism.

More such materials should appear in the mass-circulation weeklies PANORAMA and TAK I NIE, published in Katowice.

9. The Voivodship Committee puts the management and the party organization in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA under obligation to work out a system of continuous direct contacts with party organizations in major workplaces, and to initiate a series of monthly consultations with selected party groups, in order to evaluate their journalistic performance. Moreover, before the end of the year the TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA management will submit to the Voivodship Committee Executive Board its annual plan for political and organizational initiatives of its editorial board, and in particular, after previous consultation with the readers, a draft proposal, for resuming the TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA holiday. The Voivodship Committee recommends broad support and assistance in order to found, by 1984, a youth newspaper in Katowice.

10. The Voivodship Committee plenary session puts the Silesian Press Publishing House under obligation to create, by 1 January 1984, a center for social research and analysis, which should promote press actions in various social and professional milieus.

11. It has been stated that among the reasons for fundamental deficiencies in ideological activity is, inter alia, a perceptible shortage of highly qualified and totally devoted Marxist cadres. The Voivodship Committee Department of Science and Education is put under obligation to submit to the Executive Board a program aimed at overcoming the remissness in this domain, and to prepare a system of training and using cadres needed by universities and by the entire network of ideological education.

12. Members of the Katowice Voivodship Committee plenum note an urgent need for further development and consistent improvement of the system and network of political training of cadres, according to the current and future needs of the party. In particular, the statutory duties of all PZPR members of every party committee and organization to assimilate and propagate Marxism-Leninism, as well as the party program and policies, should be inculcated inside the party. The plenum approves the work of the Voivodship Center for Ideological Training, which strives to strengthen the cadres and to raise the roles of Centers for Ideological and Educational Work at all levels. At the same time, it puts party organizations under obligation to convene in a systematic way ideological meetings and to cooperate in this domain with the appropriate Centers for Ideological and Educational Work, which are supposed to render them substantial assistance.

13. The Voivodship Committee plenum expresses its conviction that today's debate and its resolutions provide a substantial contribution in preparing our provincial organization for the approaching plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee, dedicated to ideological problems; it puts all party organizations, local committees, and the ideological aktiv of the PZPR Voivodship Committee under obligation to intensify their operations derived from the implementation of the resolution adopted by today's plenum.

14. The plenum puts the ideological aktiv of the Voivodship Committee and its Ideological Commission for Information and Propaganda under obligation to elaborate the mainstreams of the ideological work of the provincial party organization ensuing from the debate and the resolutions of today's plenum, as well as from documents which will be adopted by the 13th Central Committee Plenum. The plenum mandates the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board to endorse the main tasks before the end of the year.

[signed] Plenum of PZPR Voivodship Committee,
Katowice, 23 September 1983

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PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Sieradz Plenum on Ideological Work

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 29 Sep 83 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Ideological Work--An Important Element of Party Activity"]

[Text] Issues of ideological consolidation of the voivodship party organization in Sieradz have been addressed during the current tenure period on numerous occasions and in a variety of aspects. The need to shed light on and present these issues comprehensively is even more acute now, when the party still faces many of the most difficult tasks.

In setting and outlining new tasks of the party organizations and echelons in this sphere, the leadership and members of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum were fully aware that "without an ideological compass," as it was put, no smooth forward movement can be achieved in any activity.

The head of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee, Wladyslaw Loranc; the deputy head of the Department of Culture of the Central Committee, Grzegorz Sokolowski; and several dozen lecturers and instructors of party indoctrination, including those from the university of Lodz, attended the plenum, which was inaugurated and chaired by the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Sieradz, Janusz Urbaniak.

Czeslaw Tomezyk, secretary of the Voivodship Committee, presented the report of the executive board of the Voivodship Committee to the audience. He stressed first of all that against the background of current political attitudes in the voivodship and the state of awareness of the Sieradz populace, Marxist-Leninist Ideology is the determinant of the efficiency of the political activity of every party member, of all party echelons and the party as a whole.

These ideas, supported by examples and practical experience in the sphere of ideology, propaganda and upbringing, were amply developed in the course of the discussion, in which 11 comrades took part.

Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the Department of Ideology of the Central Committee, also took the floor during the course of the proceedings.

In closing, the plenum of the Voivodship Committee adopted a relevant resolution.

Gdansk Ideological Indoctrination

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 29 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mag): "To Shape the Posture of a Conscientious Citizen of the Socialist Motherland"; passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] A new yearly term of ideological training in the voivodship was inaugurated in the auditorium of the Gdansk Technical University with the participation of candidate Politburo member and the first secretary of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee, Stanislaw Bejger. Edward Kijek, secretary of the Voivodship Committee, outlined directions for training. Members of the executive board of the Voivodship Committee--the governor of Gdansk Voivodship, Brigadier General Mieczyslaw Cygan; the chief of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs, Brigadier General Jerzy Andrzejewski; candidate Central Committee member Zbigniew Kowalski--took part in the celebration. Colonel Zenon Molczyk, chief of the Voivodship Military Staff, was also present.

Lecturers of [party] echelons, instructors of the WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism], members of the Ideological Commission of the Voivodship Committee, instructors of party training, the ideological aktiv of the Polish People's Army Ministry of Defense and Security Service, as well as a group of honored veterans of the workers' movement, took part in the inauguration. Journalists representing the communist press of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Cuba, Portugal and Spain, who were visiting the Baltic Coast within the framework of celebrating the TRYBUNA LUDU holiday, were also in attendance.

Today's meeting--said Voivodship Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Bejger--is taking place in an environment quite different from that of a year or two ago. /Further stabilization of the socioeconomic situation in the country and in the voivodship has occurred. With respect to the developments in the last days of August, the speaker stressed that their course bore out the correctness of the understanding and struggle line taken by the party at the Ninth PZPR Congress. Through its civic and patriotic posture, the society of the coast has manifested acceptance of the program of reforms and social renewal implemented by the party and the government./

The working class--stressed the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee--is aware that the goals put down in the August agreements cannot be achieved by strikes, but by their own efficient work, in the way of consequent implementation of the new rationally justified mechanism of functioning in the economy.

/The party counts on the partnership, help and cooperation of all the patriotic forces of the people. This includes also the trade unions, which are gathering strength./

So far, 15 percent of the working people in Gdansk Voivodship have joined the new trade unions. There are PZPR members among them, but their number is still too small. Comrade Stanislaw Bejger called on all party echelons and organizations in the voivodship to reinforce the activities supporting the process of rebirth of the trade union movement.

The first secretary of the Voivodship Committee went on to discuss problems associated with the implementation of new economic mechanisms in the economy of the voivodship. He stated that along with positive phenomena such as a quantitative increase in production, negative phenomena are also in evidence--a decline in the quality of particular goods, inadequate structure of employment or increments in wages in certain enterprises which are out of line with increments in production.

/The basic directions of ideological activity in the beginning term of training were outlined by Voivodship Committee Secretary Edward Kijek. He stated that the difficult economic situation in the country, which forces the aktiv to undertake measures aimed at overcoming the economic crisis, improving the market or housing situation, should not eclipse ideological topics. The purpose of the latter is to shape the new man--a conscientious citizen of the socialist motherland./ To this end, it is necessary to change the style of work in political education, to review the rationale for some forms of ideological indoctrination and to make better use of the mass media.

Comrade Edward Kijek acknowledged the development of Marxist thought, the strengthening of the material base and the acquisition of further instructor and lecturer cadres as the foundation for long-range activities on the ideological front. Such cadres are trained by the Voivodship Party Aktiv School in Gdansk-Oliwa and in part by other centers in the country. On the whole, however, these cadres are still too few.

Further on, the Voivodship Committee secretary drew attention to the need for the scientific community to get politically involved in solving issues of high importance in the life of society in general and particular individuals. /Perceiving these problems sufficiently early and taking them on efficiently would make it possible to resolve in a non-antagonistic fashion the contradictions arising in the process of socialist construction. Therefore, objective and thorough criticism of the negative phenomena in social life is the task of science, and the social sciences in particular./ This includes not only the "easy and safe" criticism of the past, but also the one responding vigorously to contemporary developments.

The success of ideological indoctrination--said Comrade Edward Kijek--depends on our insight in evaluating the sociopolitical situation, on the aggressiveness of the fight against ideological adversaries and on the efficiency of overcoming economic difficulties. These tasks should be handled not only by the workers of the ideological front, but by all party members as well.

In the next section of the meeting, the head of the Ideological Department of the Voivodship Committee, Jerzy Tarasiewicz, read the names of functionaries distinguished for particular achievements in ideological and upbringing

activities. Five persons received proper medals "for the Propagation of Marxism-Leninism" awarded by the PZPR Central Committee. Seven more persons received book awards and congratulatory letters from the Central Committee. A large group of activists also received books and letters of appreciation from the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee. The medals and awards were handed out by Comrades Stanislaw Bejger and Edward Kijek.

The keynote address, "The State of Polish-American Relations in Light of Ronald Reagan's Policy Towards Poland," was delivered by Stanislaw Pawliszewski from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Wloclawek Party Plenum

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 30 Sep 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by (MAT): "To Reinforce the Legal Awareness and Culture of the Society"; passages in slantlines printed in baidface]

[Text] The tasks of the voivodship party organization in fighting crime and social defiance were discussed yesterday at the plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Wloclawek. Michal Atlas, chief of the Administrative Department of the PZPR Central Committee, and Franciszek Rusek, prosecutor-general of the People's Republic of Poland, took part in the proceedings, which were chaired by the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, Krystian Luczak.

Wojciech Ledwochowski, secretary of the Voivodship Committee, stated in the report of the committee's executive board that issues of the rule of law are of special importance for the party. The strengthening of social discipline and public order and higher legal awareness are an inseparable element of the process of stabilization in the country. The present situation requires a strong, authoritative state power which consequently enforces the principle of uniform laws for all citizens. It is the duty of all party members to carry out this task properly.

Evaluating the state of security and public order in Wloclawek Voivodship, the Voivodship Committee secretary stressed that a majority of the populace obeys legal regulations, in effect viewing this as a source of normalization. Attempts to cause disturbances have been met with disapproval or indifference. However, there are enough causes for concern. The threat of criminal activity has grown. Crimes against property are especially menacing. Young people account for 13.6 percent of the perpetrators of these crimes, whereas the average for the country stands at 10.3 percent. The number of crimes committed under the influence of alcohol has also increased. Alcohol consumption in Wloclawek Voivodship has increased by as much as 60 percent compared to the same period last year. Speculation and drug addiction are also threatening, but, on the other hand, the amount of reported economic crimes had decreased, despite the astounding lack of concern for public property manifested in many enterprises, said the PZPR Voivodship Committee secretary. It was stated in the report of the executive board that counteracting these negative phenomena

is only possible through the creation of a joint front of struggle. This is associated with the reinforcement of legal awareness and culture. The party Voivodship Committee in Wloclawek has already undertaken measures to this end, sponsoring, among other things, meetings between the representatives of the prosecutor's office and militia with work forces. Elements of the PRON [Patriotic National Rebirth Movement] are also playing significant roles in shaping attitudes. In summation, Wojciech Ledwochowski said that only the inclusion of large segments of the population in the struggle against waste, mismanagement and speculation as well as all manifestations of defiance can produce tangible results.

The chief of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs, Colonel Onufry Suchomski, the vice chairman of the Voivodship Committee for Combatting Speculation, Stefan Jadowski; voivodship prosecutor Leon Wesolowski; and Henryk Brzezicki, district PISIPAR [expansion unknown] Inspector, also enlarged on this topic. Stressing the positive signs of stabilization in the region, they pointed to the need to publicize more widely the steps undertaken and [crime] prevention. Besides creating a social environment for fighting crime, weak spots in management should be eliminated, the responsibility and competence of management cadres should increase and respect for the law should be comprehensive. Everyone must be the guard of social good, said Henryk Brzezicki, pointing to the unpardonable examples of waste and quality deficiencies in milk cooperatives, meat packing and grain procurement.

In the course of the discussion, much attention was paid to the upbringing of youth. Among other things, Curator of Education and Upbringing Henryk Kopczynski said that the school cannot be the sole instrument of shaping the personality and attitudes of students. The family and society at large should participate more vigorously in this process. In this context, the speaker touched on the especially weighty issue of anonymity in social life. This encourages disrespect for the law and for moral norms. Michal Szadrowski, first secretary of the PZPR City Committee in Ciechocinek, also spoke about matters of upbringing.

In the discussion, the following issues also came up: equality and social justice (Henryk Frateczak, member of the executive board of the Voivodship Committee), the educational role of labor in human life (Alicja Bienkowska, chairwoman of the Voivodship Board of the LKP [League of Polish Women]), the need for a more thorough review of health-care benefits (Artur Kwiatkowski, farmer, member of the Central Committee). The state of enforcement of the law on sobriety was critically evaluated by the first secretary of the PZPR Gmina Committee in Chocen. Barbara Osinska, the director of the Socioadministrative Department of the city government, informed the plenum audience about the activity of the Council for Misdemeanors.

The rule of law is tantamount to the notion of social justice for the citizens of our country--said the prosecutor general of the PRL, Franciszek Rusek, in the discussion.

Many phenomena still upset the working people. This is often the result of the complexity of these issues, which is sometimes caused by the resourcelessness and shortcomings of the competent organs. To reinforce the state and its

official representation is a duty of all citizens who care for a strong Poland ruled by law. The prosecutor general stated that a return to the voluntarism of the 1970's is out of the question. Also, there is no returning to the anarchy of before 13 December 1981. The renewal of sociopolitical life must amount to a change in the mode of thinking and taking action. This will be coupled with the principle that the law is the same for everyone, regardless of the social position and the post held.

Michal Atlas, head of the Administrative Department of the Central Committee, also reflected in his statement on the tasks of the party in combatting social defiance. Among other things, he said that party organizations and members should promote the spreading of the principles of the rule of law and the dissemination of information on the ways to prevent crimes and on the punishment meted out to the perpetrators. A joint front of fighting crime should also be set up on the initiative of the party and its political allies.

In the resolution adopted by the Party Voivodship Committee in Wloclawek, the tasks of the voivodship echelon in combatting and preventing crime were outlined specifically. They involve all spheres of socioeconomic life, with special emphasis on the issues of equality and social justice. During yesterday's meeting, reports on the activity of the executive board and secretariat of the Voivodship Committee were also approved.

9761

CSO: 2600/122

MINISTRY OFFICIAL DISCUSSES INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish No 238, 7 Oct 83 p 4

[Interview with Col Zbigniew Pohec, first secretary of the PZPR Committee, Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW], by Lt Col Emil Bil; date and place not specified: "Our Concerns Extend Beyond the Ministry's Specifics"]

[Text] [Question] Somehow, we have never interviewed a party representative of an affiliated ministry. Today's conversation takes place on the occasion of the holiday of the Citizen's Militia [MO] and the Security Service [SB]; however, let us talk about work, not celebrations.

[Answer] Agreed, this is not a time for celebrations. Perhaps, by way of introduction, I will briefly appraise your readers on the structure of our party organizations. The PZPR Committee at MSW has the status of a City District Party Committee [KD] and we adopted that name despite differences in work and organizational specifics. Details aside, our activities resemble those of the PZPR Committee of the Ministry of National Defense [MON] Central Institutions, and our PZPR Committee also constitutes a city district party organization within the PZPR Warsaw Provincial Committee [KW PZPR].

Our party organization is composed of more than a dozen enterprise and school committees, more than 180 basic party organizations [POP], nearly 40 departmental party organizations [OOP], and more than 270 party groups. Party membership at MSW and the Main Command of the Citizen's Militia [KGM] exceeds 55 percent. Naturally, in the operative units the percentage is higher and reaches nearly 90 percent and 80 percent at MSW and KGM, respectively. The lowest percentage is in the support services--approximately 1 percent. Our activities are based on general guidelines and tasks of the PZPR. Our main focus--considering the specifics of the services and ministry's work--is to mobilize all PZPR members to perform properly undoubtedly difficult tasks, based on the external and internal situation of our country. We perform under very heavy pressure of attacks, prepared in minute detail, by the enemy, rooted in the domestic political opposition, as well as the external one, which attacks by all available methods and means. Therefore, our major task is to deal with the universally perceived dangers and, consequently, the shaping of the ideological-political attitudes of MSW operatives. After all, it was no accident that after the August 1980 events the opponents of socialism, by means of scenarios prepared in minute detail, waged their major attack against MO and SB as they were perfectly aware of the consequences of weakening the links

of the Ministry of Internal Affairs by means of disassembling the structures of the socialist state. We were also aware of the dimensions of growing dangers for the country, and these were and still are the bases for both official and unofficial tasks for employees of certain services as well as for party echelons and organizations. This does not mean that these are the only problems of concern to us.

[Question] Perhaps you would acquaint us with those other concerns of the leadership of your party organization.

[Answer] Let us take, for example, the evaluation of the welfare and living conditions of MSW and KGM employees. The enemy propaganda, in an attempt to discredit us in the eyes of society, ascribed to us special privileges and a fabulous standard of living. The reality is quite different. For example, we suffer a painful deficit of apartments and dormitories for young operatives as well as of space for cafeterias and snack bars. Our vacation and leisure time accommodations are very limited. And yet, it is the living conditions that have an important and direct impact on the quality of work and performance of ever increasing official tasks. For example, more than 1,200 persons await an exchange of their apartments for bigger ones--a natural need of young couples, whose families grow. The need for new apartments runs into thousands, while the conditions in construction, both cooperative and ministry-based, continue to deteriorate. Our health care facilities and health services also require improvement, while the difficult working conditions and high health requirements for operatives mandate continuous and proper health care. All of the above--that is, evaluations of the existing conditions and drafting improvement programs--was on the agenda of our party organization's leadership, which worked in concert with the ministry's management. Another problem is the personnel policy, or, more precisely, the execution of certain principles of the personnel policy. The guiding spirit of that policy has been and will be to maintain the class--peasant-worker--character of the apparatus, deep loyalty to socialism, and maintaining close ties with the society we serve. The decision to serve in the internal affairs apparatus is already a political declaration, the natural consequence of which should be not just exemplary execution of duties, but also a defined ideological attitude and political activity.

Shaping high ideological and moral values of employees is the elementary duty of all supervisors as well as party organizations and echelons. The practice of cooperation between party secretaries and managements of the political-educational and personnel sectors with regard to execution of the personnel policy principles is shaping up. After all, proper and objective evaluation of the professional and political-ideological preparation of people for the performance of certain functions, execution of tasks, and assuming positions in the multitiered activity structure is of fundamental importance for the functioning of MSW.

Naturally, the specific political situation in the country, and particularly the atmosphere created around MO and SB operatives, who are characterized in the worst imaginable terms by the enemy propaganda, are not conducive to a mass influx of employment applications. The enemy has tailored his activities

accordingly in this respect. Nevertheless, we continue to accept new candidates and--what is important--they are valuable people with already defined ideological attitudes and crystallized views of the complex Polish reality. The problem of recruitment to MO and SB is closely related to the attitude of our party organizations to the entire youth problem package. It so happens that we are now in the process of preparing a plenary meeting of the party committee to discuss political-ideological work among the young MSW and KGMO employees.

[Question] It would seem that the management of MSW and KGMO is composed of gentlemen with gray hair.

[Answer] True, some have gray hair, but more than 40 percent of MSW, KGMO, and school personnel are younger than 35 years of age; therefore, the subject we are currently interested in concerns a considerable number of employees. To characterize better our youth, I wish to add that among them 24 percent have college and 64 percent high school education, and only 12 percent have less than high school education. Also, among the young employees 44 percent come from worker families, 51 percent come from the intelligentsia, and 5 percent come from peasant stock.

These percentages already suggest activity directions to our party organization's leadership. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is young in terms of age. The rejuvenation process is the result of the natural course of things: the young ones replace those who retire. But it is also a result of a certain personnel policy, because the tasks performed often require very good physical and mental condition. Therefore, there is a need for a continuous influx of new people, equipped with professional and general knowledge, and for their training for work in the ministry. Not all knowledge necessary for work in MO and SB is acquired in high school or college. Only theory enforced by experience produces the desirable application of acquired knowledge.

Our party organizations face the task of inculcating the ranks of young operatives with the awareness of the subordinate role of the Ministry of Internal Affairs with regard to the socialist state and the worker class as well as with sociopolitical knowledge, allowing independent and class evaluation of political phenomena at home and abroad. That is why we pay so much attention to ideological-educational work in party organizations as well as to the activities of youth organizations existing at the ministry. Therefore, of particular importance to our party organization is defining the position, place, role, and political function of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in the ministry as well as its attitude toward the party activities and its influence on the overall activities of the ministry. On this also depends the adaptation of young people to the difficult tasks before them.

During this term the party committee is considering youth problems at its plenary meeting for the second time. Current matters are discussed with ZSMP functionaries on an everyday basis. The current plenary meeting will evaluate the work of party organizations for the period since the Ninth "Youth" Plenary Meeting of the PZPR Central Committee. The evaluation will help in making decisions, which will give the proper status to the youth organization

in the ministry as well as will bring stability to the position of the young at work, and will perfect the forms and methods of ideological-educational work.

These are only some of the problems dealt with by the MSW Party Committee. As it can be seen, apart from the specific needs of the ministry, we are concerned with concrete party activities, which in their essence conform to the activities of the entire party in the country.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

8609

CSO: 2600/142

JOURNALIST INTERVIEWS ZOMO OFFICIAL

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 41, 9 Oct 83 p 6

[Interview with First Lt Jerzy Chrabaszc by Stanislaw Szalapak: "Can One Come To Like the Zomo?"]

[Text] Women, mothers and grandmothers have their own holidays. Men think that they are weak persons who need care and thus willingly give their best wishes. Teachers also have their calendar day, but that is a feminized profession. Emancipation has gone so far that there are now some efforts to create a father's day. The police have their calendar day too--not because healthy athletic police officers lack brawn, but to show the broader public that this service and profession is not all cops-and-robbers and westerns.

"What should we wish you on Policeman's Day?" I asked Lt Jerzy Chrabaszc.

He answered, "We would like all the best, not only on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the Citizen's Militia. We want to assure society of public order, safety, participation in all of public life and make it safe to go anywhere. We want to protect property and to act to at least prosecute the perpetrators of crime."

In September, I visited the Motorized Reserve of the Warsaw Bureau of Internal Affairs (until recently, known as the Motorized Reserve of the Civil Militia, or ZOMO). I asked political officer First Lt Jerzy Chrabaszc what the work of the ZOMO is.

[Answer] Most people don't know that the Motorized Reserve does not exist solely to scatter illegal demonstrations. It was established at the end of 1956. Some of its principal assignments are: counteracting the effects of natural disasters and railway and airline accidents, sponsoring large sports, tourist and recreational events, and participating in fighting forest fires in Warsaw Province. On the other hand, our officers also perform typical police work on a daily basis. They preserve order, prevent theft and fighting and prosecute the perpetrators of crimes and misdemeanors.

Lt Chrabaszcz pointed out that "every officer of the ZO SUSW [Motorized Reserve of the Capital Bureau of Internal Affairs] is a policeman, whereas not every police officer is a ZOMO official. But, they are trained to act in the same sort of cohesive subunits that make up the Motorized Reserve. Thus, it makes very little sense to look for any great differences between these types of militia officials.

"ZOMO officials from the Warsaw unit were the first ones to arrive at the area demolished by the explosion at the Warsaw Rotunda. We helped the wounded," recalls Lt Chrabaszcz, "and protected property of the PKO [Polish Savings Bank], which very much needed doing since banknotes and all sorts of documents had been strewn all over the ruins and snow. I very strongly remember that the force of the explosion had blown a girl, an employee of the PKO, along with her chair and desk, onto a pile of snow in the center of the traffic circle. She was in shock. She didn't have any external injuries but there might have been internal ones.

"We also participated in putting out the fire in the store at the Central House of Children on Jerozolimskie Alley. We saved a lot of the store's goods. We also served at Okęcie where the Kopernik passenger flight went down. That was in March, a time of floods, and mud, blood, human remains and clothing were all churned together. We protected whatever remained. We found documents and valuable personal items.

"During flooding we piled sandbags. In Puszcza Kampinoska we detained unruly tourists scattering garbage and lighting fires. In this same forest land, at the end of June of this year, we fought fires for 2 days along with the fire department and army units. The ZO SUSW also looks for lost children. I personally looked for a 3-year-old boy at Targówek in Warsaw. The mother had been talking with a neighbor at the sandpile and the child wandered off. Many police officers were mobilized in the search. We searched on foot and in cars. When it turned dark, we lit up all of the dark places that we could. It turned out that the little fellow had gone a few streets down and a certain lady was taking care of him. She didn't think of contacting the police at once. The child returned to his tearful parents, fed and rested.

"People don't know how much crime occurs every day: thefts, fighting and rape... They don't always understand that the very presence of a policeman on the street prevents crime. A police official on a would-be stroll is not as lazy as it seems to some, but he is observing and analyzing the situation. The public is too little informed about this by the press, radio and television."

[Question] And demonstrations?

[Answer] Information on planned demonstrations and illegal gatherings comes to us from various sources and makes it possible for us to determine precisely the place and time of these types of gatherings and demonstrations. As a rule, widely-planned preventive action is taken, such as checking the identification of the persons gathering. If the gathering does take place, its participants are warned over public announcement equipment (either hand-held megaphones or truck-mounted loudspeakers) about the illegality and consequences of the

gathering and asked to leave the area. We personally approach women and the elderly, especially mothers with children. In such circumstances, most people understand the laws on illegal demonstrations, gatherings and ceremonies. On the other hand, there have often been cases in which the gatherers shouted, whistled, called us names or even threw stones. At that point we take specific actions. I want to emphasize now that all of our actions are in accordance with the law and are conducted in such a way as to least injure persons participating in the demonstration. Often it's enough for an officer to approach the crowd for it to break up. If we have to, we use direct force. The 14 July 1983 law on the activity of the minister of internal affairs defines the means of force that we are to use.

[Question] Can strong action taken by forces of order not bring about unforeseen results?

[Answer] We know that a crowd is governed by certain laws. A passive crowd can turn into an aggressive one, and if force is used, that one can become a panicked crowd. A panicked crowd cannot be allowed to go out of control or people might get trampled. For this reason, a crowd is never surrounded. It must be allowed to disperse.

[Question] How does a ZOMO official in action feel?

Sergeant Krzysztof Szulc said that fear is not an uncommon emotion in such circumstances. Corporal Pawel Jablonski did not want to admit fear. He entered the Citizens' Militia to do his military service and to become a professional policeman. He loudly recited: "Military service is an honorable duty"...I asked him how he felt the first time he struck someone with his club. "How do you know that I ever did that? I haven't clubbed anyone yet. I have been among demonstrators and I don't like them. Most of them are workshirkers, petty thieves and brawlers who have had to deal with the police and hate them for that reason." I argued with him, saying that the social background of persons taking part in demonstrations is varied. He finally said that people involved in street disturbances were people either easily or just circumstantially swayed by emotions.

Major Witold Zawadzki, press spokesman for the Capital Bureau of Internal Affairs, with whom I consulted on the content of this report, later explained: "As it is, different people take part in demonstrations. It has been impossible to do any sociological studies in such conditions but on the basis of those persons we have detained, we can say that the make-up of a crowd is varied. There are also kibitzers. Frequently, there are also many youths looking for an opportunity to mix socially. The youth from the criminal fringe element is what mainly contributes to the character of the demonstration. A worker who is convinced of his reasons does not act like a hooligan.

"We feel that, in the most recent attempts to disrupt peace, there have been increasingly more young people involved that were looking for an outlet."

We took a walk through the barracks. Lt Chrabaszcz complained about the terrible conditions in which young officers are living. He pointed out how all of the barracks are falling apart. Meanwhile, construction of new barracks is lagging.

We enter the hall in which the company commanders are living. The lieutenant explains that 14 persons occupy bunkbeds in this 7 by 4 meter room. Thus, each person has 2 square meters to himself, which is less than in prisons, where the minimum calls for 4 to 5 meters per prisoner.

In my presence, Lt Chrabaszcz asked young officers: "How often do you eat ham?" "Very seldom. At Easter, Christmas or on the National Holiday." "Where have you served?" "We served in the Old Town district."

"Yes, I have had to club someone," says Lt Chrabaszcz's young colleague. "Anyone would have done it. It was a gesture of self-defense. We are never the first to attack. Stones were being thrown at us and a colleague was hit in the face. When they shout 'gestapo,' they insult us. The people shouting are the same type of people as ourselves or younger. I have never had pangs of conscience that I took part in actions. No one has, but we do have consciences. Write that in capital letters. If we weren't convinced that what we are doing is right, no one could force us to do it."

"I have never been sorry that I serve in the ZOMO. My family does not condemn me. I have the same friends I had before I joined. My work is interesting. Every day brings something new. We sometimes ride out to forest fires. A citizen was assaulted in the Old Town. We overpowered his assailant. A colleague recovered five knapsacks. They had been stolen from tents while their owners were sunbathing. Successes such as these are satisfying."

The majority of police live in multiple-occupancy rooms. The rooms are in barracks near which there are trees. The land is well cared for, with a fountain and a pool. A large plaster of Paris sculpture portrays a policeman helping a child and an old woman cross the street. There is also no lack of historical sites. Nearby, there are the remains of a fort built by the conqueror in the years 1835-1856. There are four sites like this. They have been restored in the public interest by police officials and are cared for by a conservationist. These buildings have exceptionally thick brick walls, nearly two meters thick. There is a reading room in the northern battery and barracks in the other buildings.

I managed to have a look in one of the barracks buildings full of ZOMO gear. I even tried on a helmet with a visor. It is made from the same material as driver's helmets. It has a shiny silver eagle. I picked up one of the transparent shields. It was somewhat scratched up. The police officer standing next to me said: "That's from being transported and carried."

There were several large signs reading: "No to do-nothings, speculators and crooks! We will defend socialism as our independence!", etc. On one of the lawns there was a memorial tablet that was placed there on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the creation in Warsaw of the Motorized Reserve of the

Civil Militia. It reads: "Faithfully guard the working people! Always be people of warm hearts and clean hands! Remember that the peoples' fatherland has made you the honorable defenders of order, peace and popular rule." These are the words of the first chief commander of the Citizens' Militia, General Franciszek Jozwiak, "Witold." These are the ideals of exemplary service but there have been cases where the law has been broken by the militia.

I asked for some examples in which police officers have been punished.

I was told: "In order for such information to be published, there must be a court order, and then the press may print it. In 2 to 2.5 percent of cases, policemen were convicted."

I said: "I think that the number of legal violations committed by police officials could be considerably reduced by the proper selection and recruiting of people into police units." The lieutenant agreed with me and said: "We do not accept anyone who has been convicted in court or by criminal administration bodies. Neither can anyone having a convicted family member, whether father, mother, brother or sister, serve in one of our units. Recruits must also have an untarnished reputation in their neighborhoods and places of work."

My visit at the ZO SUSW unit draws to a close. We know that the militia is the last state institution that will ever be loved by everyone. However, it must be understood that this service is necessary and has useful functions. It is a hard form of service, of course, but the people serving in this way are only people.

12/26/65

File: 2600/124

HEALTH MINISTER SZELACHOWSKI REPORTS ON STATE OF HEALTH CARE

Warsaw SLUZBA ZDROWIA in Polish No 41, 9 Oct 83 pp 2,3

[Speech of the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, Tadeusz Szelachowski, reported by PAP: "State of Public Health and the Activities of Health and Social Welfare Services"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The right to a healthy life has been incorporated into constitutional guarantees of our socialist state. Health service has crucial importance for the quality of life of each individual, each Polish family and the public as a whole.

The issues rank so high on the list of priorities that the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR and the latest congresses of the ZSL and SD devoted much time to problems of public health, adopting recommendations and resolutions which map out the future development of health services. Issues of health have been taken up on an increasing scale, and upon public initiative, by central and regional agencies of the Patriotic National Rebirth Movement [PRON].

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, in a memorable presentation read within these walls in February 1981 amidst a situation of extreme drama for our nation, when our nation's very salvation was at stake, raised the issue of health service and assigned to it the top rank in the workings of government. Public health is numbered among the top ten priorities.

In these last few years, the state of public health in Poland has not deteriorated, and there are even facts indicating an improvement of certain health parameters. The opposition's doomsaying of epidemics, famine, and "rampant" tuberculosis and the growth of the child mortality rate thus has not come true. Assertions of a biological threat to the nation also proved false. In the past year, we have attained one of the highest birth rates and population growth rates in Europe. Infant mortality has slightly declined. Compared to 1980, general mortality has diminished. The tendency for decrease of life expectancy among men that was observed in the 1970's has been halted. In short, more of us have been born, less have died and we will live longer.

In 1982, over 702,000 Poles were born, which means that we have had our highest birth rate in 22 years. The statistics for 1983 are similar. Every three years, our population has increased by one million. This is reassuring.

It is evidence of the biological stamina of the nation. High natural growth, however, faces us with important additional tasks. New problems have to be solved--from additional maternity wards and more places in nursery care, kindergarten and schools, to apartments and jobs.

Deaths among infants per 1,000 live births (i.e., the infant mortality rate, which is viewed the world over as the most sensitive measure of public health) has declined in Poland; in 1981-82 it was the lowest in Poland's history. Yet it is still high compared with other European countries.

In 1982, the epidemiologic situation with some infectious disease improved. We have observed changes in disease statistics which included an improvement in the incidence of the diseases where the key has been a proper detection of disease carriers. There was also a stable improvement in diseases that are mainly fought with immunization. On the other hand, in infectious diseases which mainly depend on sanitary conditions and public health culture, unfortunately, the results were not as positive.

Such dangerous diseases as scarlet fever and Heine-Medin disease have been virtually eliminated, and the prevalence of paratyphoid fever, whooping cough, tetanus and venereal disease has greatly declined. Diarrhea in children under two years of age, dysentery, alimentary and viral poisoning and hepatitis (that is, diseases stemming from improper hygiene) still remain a problem.

In 1970-82, the epidemiological situation with tuberculosis improved. This improvement encompasses all aspects--incidence, morbidity and mortality. Tuberculosis, however, remains an important issue that we cannot neglect. Fighting it requires intensive preventive and therapeutic efforts. All these are important and difficult issues, but they do not constitute the most difficult and most important issues in public health.

Our major health problems--as in other countries--are so-called diseases of civilization. In particular, these are the diseases of the circulatory system, neoplasms and psychic disorders. Circulatory diseases have shown a tendency to growth as in most European countries. The significance of this threat to public health is witnessed by the fact that they are the cause of almost half of deaths, job absences, hospitalizations and, finally, disabilities. Over 7,000 people every year are struck by myocardial infarction, not only in cities but also--and ever more often now--in villages.

A growth tendency is also observed in oncological diseases. Statistics characterizing the prevalence and morbidity are similar to those in other European nations. Injuries, accidents and poisoning are the third most important cause of death and hospitalization, and the second most important in the framework of job absences. Their growth is particularly disconcerting in rural areas. In the past year, despite a slight drop in the number, road accidents alone killed more than 5,500 hundred people and wounded almost 50,000.

Finally, mental diseases. This is a special group of illnesses due to the specific nature of the conditions, the length of treatment and its substan-

tial correlation with social pathologies and especially alcoholism and drug addiction. Suffice it to say that half of the beds in psychiatric wards are occupied by patients with an alcoholic background.

I have outlined the most important aspects characterizing the state of public health in our country based on measures used all around the world. This analysis and research conducted by our centers and evaluations of the World Health Organization give grounds to state with confidence that the state of health of the Polish people is no worse than the averaged health of the populations of most European nations.

The state of public health is a direct result of the situation of social life and ecology, sanitary conditions and achievements of medical science within the nation and worldwide, as well as the resources, organization and operation of health services. Public health also depends on the development of civilization, which favors the improvement of health but also creates threats to it. The resulting effects for health are thus affected by political decisions, the actions of central and regional government and the operation of health services, as well as the attitude of each individual towards his or her own health and that of others.

Despite numerous difficulties and limitations caused by the economic straits our country has found itself in, steps were taken to ensure the standard of living, which largely influences the state of public health.

Most important in this area was the effort to protect the lowest-paid section of our society, raise pensions and largely increase funds for community services. Huge efforts were directed to ensure nutrition at the necessary physiological level, including this issue in current operative programs.

The Sejm adopted a long-term program of development of food production. We sometimes forget that as recently as in the winter of 1981 heating of apartments, hospitals and schools was endangered. The resources were regrouped to give priority to housing and public construction. Maternity leaves were made longer. The positive effects of this decision for children and their mothers must be mentioned. On the other hand, we must realize that these leaves cause certain production and service difficulties. The Office for Environmental Protection and Water Management was created, and the spheres of most ecological hazards were tentatively determined.

Many actions were taken and implemented by army inspectors and army operative groups, as well as by State Sanitary Inspection efforts. As a result, many instances of negligence in sanitation in a large number of enterprises were uncovered, as well as a careless attitude toward these issues among some regional administrative agencies and among some of the public.

Immediate forceful actions resulted in concrete, tangible effects. We prevented the epidemics that threatened us. Yet difficulties still remain with supplies of good drinking water, garbage disposal, ensuring proper hygiene of foods and nutrition and especially milk, and hygienic conditions for work and study. The facts suggest that drastic changes in this area depend not only on financial

Investment but to a large degree as well on public activity. In the past years, the public movement for better hygiene in villages has improved the living conditions in rural areas. I believe that we should return to this productive tradition.

Concern for hygiene, cleanliness and order at workplaces and in dwellings does not generally require great amounts of spending. People should simply clean up after themselves. Then we will complain less about the poor sanitary conditions. There will be fewer health hazards and less disease.

A danger to the life and health of our people, unfortunately, also comes from the overconsumption of alcohol and tobacco. Drug abuse has also become a health and social problem in the past few years. To ensure effective forms of prevention and suppression of these dangers, new legislation has recently been issued.

I am talking about the law of antialcoholic education and the fight against alcoholism. I am also speaking of the decrees of the Council of Ministers of August 16, 1983 limiting smoking in public places amongst children and young people. Finally, this includes the edict of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry of last June regarding registration of poppy crops and purchases of poppy straw, which is an essential material in the production of psychedelic substances. I may also mention my instruction on prevention and treatment of drug addicts. Pursuant to the decision of the Government Presidium, a draft law on preventing drug addiction is in preparation.

Basically, we have almost all the necessary documents. They are sound. We only need to implement them and abide by them. We need to be assured that good results will flow from doing this.

Almost 10 years ago, the Sejm in its plenary session discussed and approved the principles of a government program for health service in our nation until the year 1990. A special resolution was passed on this matter. This program, as well as many other ambitious long-term measures taken at that time, proceeded from assumptions of a dynamic and untroubled economic development for the nation. Unfortunately, we did not produce enough material resources to implement this program in its entirety. Programs based on optimistic projections have gotten out of touch with reality. The government tried to bring the program into effect, and, where possible, overcome lags. Lately, efforts were focused on creating conditions for a smoothly running health service and system for community welfare.

Outlays for health services have been increased from 93 billion zlotys in 1980 to 263 billion zlotys in 1983. In view of the extremely difficult situation in hospitals, despite drastic reductions in overall capital investment in construction, several decisions were made to ensure hospital building in 1981-83. While in 1980 about 2,000 hospital beds were put into operation, in 1981 their number rose to 4,500 and in 1982 to 5,500 beds.

As the population grows and the hospital base experiences natural deterioration, with the average age of facilities in operation now exceeding 60 years,

the rate of hospital beds per 10,000 population has been maintained at an almost unaltered level over the years. It is one of the lowest in Europe. This causes great difficulties in hospital treatment and in the work of medical personnel. The government is creating conditions that in the future will provide for adding 5,000-6,000 hospital beds annually. This year we are building 117 hospital facilities totalling 40,500 beds, 3,000 places in nursing homes, 70 nursery centers, 157 clinics and 190 health centers. Since 1981, 340 buildings were transferred to health services, and 175 have been made operational. Among other things, this resulted in 1,319 new places in nursing homes, 880 beds in hospitals and sanatoria, and 65 clinics.

The cost of hospital building is high -- about 6 million zlotys or more per bed. Efficient utilization of hospital facilities is therefore especially important. Much has to be done in this area. A simple example can illustrate this. In 1982, we have reduced without damage to patients their mean hospital stay by one-half day. Small as it is, this allowed to admit to hospitals 167,000 more patients. The mean hospital stay in Poland is still longer than in other European countries.

Community dedication remains an important factor in building health and nursing facilities. Indeed, the annual donations of people to national health services funds has surpassed 4 billion zlotys; 34 billion zlotys have been channeled into health services in 1983. Thanks to these public allocations, new hospitals, clinics and health centers have been and are being created. Expressing gratitude to those who made the donations, I want to express my confidence that such efforts will continue to enjoy popular support. One example in recent months is the proceeds of fund-raising for building the Memorial Hospital and Health Center of Mother Poland in Lodz.

With the development of higher and secondary medical education, the employment of doctors, dentists, nurses and midwives has increased. Yet, the figures are lower than for most European countries and do not fully meet existing demand.

The current higher enrollment for medical studies bodes well for the future. With the education of nurses, however, there are reasons for concern. The enrollment in nursing schools has dropped, and the number of "new" nurses has declined. Only part of them come to work in health services. This results in major difficulties with providing proper nursing care in hospitals, aggravated by the shorter working hours and maternity leaves, earlier retirement, as well as shortages of paramedical aids. In view of this situation, we have this year opened 40 new schools for working nurses. More schools will be organized. Enrollment in existing schools has been increased 25 percent. Government has assigned additional funds this year to raise the wages of nurses, midwives and aids employed in hospitals on a three-shift basis.

We have emphasized an improved regional allocation of medical personnel by using such strategies as adequate distribution of staff positions and wage funds, scholarship contracts, housing credits or provision of apartments. Nevertheless, there are still a disproportionate distribution of such resources among the provinces, which calls for consistent and vigorous action, especially by regional government agencies, including solution of housing problems.

We have well-educated and dedicated medical staffs. Most workers of the health and welfare services are diligent in fulfilling their duties despite difficult labor and wage conditions. Yet, negative phenomena are sometimes observed which are criticized by the public, such as poor organization and violations of labor discipline. This is the main cause for waiting lines. Complaints are heard about the low quality of service. There are instances when services are made conditional upon material favors. The professional duties of a physician or nurse are such that all deviations from ethical and professional principles are especially offensive.

We are waging a resolute struggle against these phenomena. We have also launched a broad-based public discussion in all provinces and health service centers with the participation of representatives of the public, not only professional medical workers.

The opening forum of this discussion last September was the central meeting of the political-professional aktiv of health services at the Office of the Council of Ministers. It opened a series of discussions in provinces, which are still continuing. In November and December of 1983, meetings will be held at all enterprises of health and welfare services. These discussions have subjected to inspection and public judgment all results of our work and especially decisions in organization and management, as well as the quality and culture of work and professional ethics. I hardly need to add that all abuse that is revealed will be cause for exemplary punishment.

As a result of implementation of the operative program, considerable improvement has been registered in many categories of supply of medical equipment and articles of basic importance for health services, such as equipment for blood transfusion, gypsum, ambulances, surgical gloves, X-ray film, etc. In the difficult economic situation of the country, we are continuing with the program to develop a network of computerized tomography and artificial kidney devices--despite the high costs these involve. These are just the first signs of improvement. Major shortages, especially of articles which are being purchased from countries of second payments sphere, still greatly interfere with medical services.

We have started to work on the principles of long-term development of the medical industry, including state and cooperative enterprises and craftsmanship. In the past two years alone, craftsmen's enterprises began production of over 300 items of medical equipment, including 100 articles previously purchased in the West.

Since the 1970's, we have experienced the growing gap between the demand for drugs and the capacity to meet it. In 1980, the shortage amounted to some 6 billion zlotys, or more than 20 percent of total supplies. In the context of the socio-economic crisis, there was a threat of a breakdown in the supply of medication, with the resultant disastrous health consequences. In February of 1981, the Council of Ministers adopted a decision that had crucial importance for health services and for the public, when it defined the supply of medication as a priority. In 1982-83, procurement of medication and health articles was included in the operative program.

The targets of the operative programs in value terms are being fulfilled. However, in terms of product nomenclature we still experience shortages, especially as regards specialized drugs not manufactured domestically or produced with imported raw or semifinished materials. This shortage has been partially offset by receipt of drugs from foreign donors. Despite their being just 1 to 2 percent of total medication supplies, their nomenclature was of great significance. The government did assign sizeable quotas of foreign currency for the purchase of chemicals or ready-to-use drugs abroad! Currently, most purchases abroad unfortunately have to be paid for in cash, which is not easily available. Interventions provide temporary relief, but in the long term a stable supply of drugs should be linked to development of domestic pharmaceutical industry that should be based mainly on substances synthesized within the country. The government is now working on such a long-term comprehensive solution. Meanwhile, we should maintain our operative program. Several decisions have been made to improve the management of the supply of medications. Priorities have been defined for the supply of drugs to hospital and pediatric health facilities. A group of medications of basic importance for therapy has been identified, and the production and importation concentrated on these particular items. Yet, much remains to be done, especially because of the need to fight waste, which has not been realized by all citizens, including some health workers. I want to stress that this concerns straightening out procedures for prescription, and not limiting the quantities. In these times of crisis difficult for the entire society, health service has focused special attention on care for mothers, children, the elderly and the disabled. That is, those who are most at risk and therefore need the most care. The health of our children and young people is not just a condition of happiness of every Polish family, but a measure of our nation's future progress. The work of health services needs to be especially involved in the development of preventive medicine.

This included steps toward providing obligatory vaccinations everywhere, taking action to prevent rickets, enlarging prophylactic examinations for early diagnosis of abnormalities, improving services for pregnant women and regular examinations of infants, and instituting programs of regular examinations for some 75 percent of the nation's children and adolescents.

Unfortunately, in many provinces there are still difficulties with special medical and rehabilitative care for children and adolescents qualified as requiring special care. The level of health care in schools also is not satisfactory.

Practically all deliveries occur in hospitals, and childbirth without professional help is now the exception. The increase in the number of births and the virtually complete hospitalization of the mothers presents difficult tasks. Some 800 beds in maternity-gynecological wards added annually do not meet the growing demand. Hence, the urgent need to build new maternity wards or adapt existing beds for this purpose.

The past three years witnessed a large decline in the demand for places in nurseries. This should be linked among other things to the introduction of assistance to mothers on maternity leave. Part of the available nursery space is now used for children of preschool age and another part has been adapted to care for handicapped children.

We will consistently develop and enrich the forms and scope of maternity and child care. In this work, the Children's Health Center will play a major role, and in the near future also the Memorial Hospital and Health Center of Mother Poland in Lodz will do likewise. The activities of the Council on Family Matters of the Council of Ministers within the sphere of maternity and child care has been extremely fruitful.

Community care is the key to assistance for the elderly and the disabled. Unfortunately, it was not well organized within our country. An adequate comprehension of their needs was absent from policy. Finances were insufficient, and services (as well as the coordination of work) rife with shortcomings. Implementing the Sejm's decision of 16 December 1982, the Council for the Elderly, Disabled and Handicapped was set up by the Council of Ministers. Simultaneously, principles of coordinated community assistance were developed and began to be implemented.

Solving problems involved in delivering care to those who need it is possible only if the government cooperates with community organizations, if there are appropriate forms of family and neighborly help and, finally, if citizens act out of mutual human kindness. In this system, professional community services have a major role to play. The number of social workers has doubled in the past three years. There are thus greater capacities for ridding community services of all shortcomings. House care and house services remain the most difficult aspect of the overall problem.

Increased financing has enabled improvement during the current year. Various forms of social assistance have been rendered to over 1 million individuals, double the number for 1981. Despite major efforts, home care has been provided to just 66,000 persons (that is, 30-40 percent of the demand). This is our weakest point. We must realize, however, that even a developed and perfect system of governmental social services (and we are far from that) will not replace family and neighborly care.

In 1982, facilities for about 1,500 elderly have been added in nursing homes. This was the highest such annual growth of the past 10 years. This year, we expect to increase the capacity by another 2,000. The need is still much greater, because about 12,000 people are on waiting lists for nursing homes and as many staying in hospitals solely for social care, taking up places that should be occupied by the sick.

We must build nursing homes. Yet, this is not as good a solution as it might seem. One does not transplant old trees. We know that old people feel best in their own familiar surroundings. We must simply make sure that they get proper help and medical care.

The solution of many of our health problems depends on the organization and functioning of basic health care facilities and the forms of the primary care which, as the first contact between the patient and physician, are the basis for health services.

Unfortunately, it still remains the weakest link in our health care network. For this reason it is the most criticized by the public. According to the Center for Public Opinion Research of Polish Radio and Television, the most frequent complaints directed at primary care are: long waiting lines at doctors' offices (59 percent), physician haste and superficial examination of the patient (31 percent), the impossibility of being treated by the same physician throughout the course of treatment (19 percent) and the shortage of laboratories for analysis (15 percent).

On 18 December 1981, government adopted guidelines for basic health care at the place of residence for 1982-85.

On the basis of these guidelines, each province has stipulated the assignments in keeping with its real needs and capacities. Gradually, they are being fulfilled. Wage incentives have been introduced (within the framework of available funds), and, according to demand, staffs have been determined and principles of their distribution defined. Since 1981, we have tried to provide cars to physicians in towns and villages.

All these efforts are beginning to bring positive effects. In 1982, the number of doctors employed by parish clinics and health centers increased by 900. In preceding years, the growth was a quarter of this amount. In villages, after eight years of decline, we had an increase in the number of doctors by 141. Additionally, in the network of basic health care, 156 dentists, about 700 community nurses and nearly 3,500 social workers joined the service network. In 1982, 59 new primary health care centers were created, and improvements were made at 206 parish outpatient clinics and 234 health centers, that is, 8-10 percent of the total number.

Further improvements in the organization of primary health care are linked to the experiment of free choice of physician by the patient, currently under way. It will continue through to the end of 1983; the results of this experiment will then be evaluated and recommendations developed for general introduction of this principle.

We place much emphasis on proper operation of rural health services. Specific tasks in this area are included in the program for implementation of the resolution of the joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL National Committee.

Health services in industry are concerned with disease prevention and treatment for over 5.5 million workers. This work is done by 2,500 health clinics, employing some 6,000 physicians, over 2,700 dentists and some 10,000 nurses.

At the meeting of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and members of the government with representatives of trade unions and workers, many critical remarks were expressed concerning these services. We have been drawing conclusions from this criticism. We are trying to adapt the directions of our work and organizational decisions to the current health needs and requirements of workers. These needs and requirements especially concern prevention in the broad sense, including occupational hazards, ways of limiting them and eventually their complete elimination.

In discussing the situation of health services, one can not overlook medical science. Scientific research and, specially, its results are the basis for all decisions of health services, including prevention, diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation. These results are used for objective evaluation of the efficiency of operation of a public system. Annual surveys of public health are conducted for efficient decision-making.

Our nation has a large number of scientists and educators at work in 11 medical academies and 18 ministerial research and development institutes. We can be proud of the major accomplishments in basic and clinical research, much of which has been of worldwide importance. The Polish School of Rehabilitation, the Polish School of Oncology, accomplishments of pediatrics, orthopedics and many other spheres are known throughout the world. The prestige of Polish medical science is evidenced by the fact that, in this month alone, 14 international congresses and meetings took place in our nation.

The World Health Organization recently proposed the following concise slogan: "Your health is in your hands." This is true. It is confirmed every day. One has only to look at the chronicles of accidents to see how many of them result from negligence and shortsightedness. Just looking at statistics of alcohol consumption or cigarette smoking is enough to understand how much they produce disease, suffering and death. Take, for example, cleanliness and order. In most cases, don't they depend on our own attitudes--at home, at work and in public places? Remember all the discussion about detergent rationing? Now we have coped with this problem. There is plenty of detergent, but has the supply of soap and detergent visibly improved the overall state of hygiene?

I want to be properly understood. I do not purport to relieve the government or my ministry of responsibility for public health. I simply want to show the problem in its entire complexity. The scope of this problem is determined by the degree of public education, common sense and ethics of all the people.

In the coming years, the government will concentrate on major health hazards and efforts to meet the basic needs in this respect. We will focus our attention on population groups requiring specific care--namely, mothers, children, the elderly, the disabled and individuals working in conditions detrimental to health. Finally, we will be concerned with prevention and elimination of social diseases. Efforts will continue to ensure further improvement of supplies of basic drugs and medical equipment used in everyday practice.

These issues call for rapid and vigorous actions. Steps will be taken to fulfill the assignments defined in the National Economic Plan for 1983-85 as regards the increase of the material base, manpower growth, distribution of personnel and utilization and development of the necessary network of health services and centers of public care, including primary medical care. The government is aware that these are modest plans, but in the coming years that is all we will be able to undertake.

Intensive work is going on and will be continued on a set of legislative acts concerning health and welfare. The binding legal documents in this

area are spread among various legal acts. Some of them date back to prewar times. Clearly, they do not address contemporary needs and conditions. This month, the Government Presidium discussed the draft law of public health protection. The draft will be submitted to consultation with the public in the nearest future. Work will soon be completed on the draft law on the Office of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, defining the tasks of this office and ensuring a uniform health policy. In the immediate future, government will discuss a draft law on prevention of drug addiction, defining the principles of prophylaxis, treatment and social rehabilitation of substance-dependent individuals and the principles of production and sale of these substances. Progress has been made in developing a draft law on government sanitary inspection. This law will provide larger capabilities for observing health requirements, together with a system of agencies of government sanitary inspection and a larger scope of this activity.

The government is working on implementing a program of public health and social welfare through to 1990. As I have mentioned, this program needs to be updated, because of the impossibility of catching up with the shortcomings and delays that have accumulated since the mid-1970's. While not giving up the basic goals set forth in the program (such as the construction of health facilities, maintaining the proper levels of supplies of medication and medical equipment), they should be defined in realistic terms.

The need for drawing up a longer-term perspective of health services stems also from the demands of coordination with the strategy of the World Health Organization with the slogan of "Health for everyone by the year 2000." This program was presented in 1976 at the organization's general session in Alma Ata. Implementing these principles involves coordination with the demographic and health statistics and projections of our nation until the end of the century.

By the year 2000, almost 13 million new Polish children will be born. The high number of births will place increased demands on health services in maternity and pediatric areas. We will have to prepare a sufficient number of beds in maternity wards and neonatal care units and properly educate the medical cadre. Poland's population in the meantime will increase by 5 million. If we want to attain improved health services and treatment conditions, we must, even today, lay the foundations for the greater numbers of physicians, dentists, pharmacists, nurses and other medical professionals and define the tasks in developing and modernizing the educational facilities, including the creation of a medical academy at Bvdgoszcz.

The population growth by 15 percent during this period will require, by the year 2000, hospitals including 100-120,000 beds. Even today, we must think of ways to implement this difficult task. And this is just one example. The same is true of many other difficult problems that call for farsighted solutions.

An important task facing the health and welfare services is ensuring proper health and public care for the increasing population of the elderly. By the year 2000, this group will number almost 6 million people and will amount to

14 percent of the total population. The program must define as accurately as possible means that will ensure for these people a comfortable old age.

A long-term plan of health services should emphasize prevention, treatment and rehabilitation in three groups of diseases which currently and, according to all indicators will continue to be, the most important life hazards in our country. While acknowledging the initiative and leading role of well-organized and equipped health services, we should note that, in accordance with the WHO strategy mentioned earlier, health protection cannot be the sole responsibility of such a service, for it requires the coordinated activity of many ministries, which in their activities affect the state of public health and can reduce the health hazards. This also requires the ability to look far ahead.

Only a program conceived as a joint endeavor and which takes into account the socioeconomic realities of our country and the principles of socialist health services can bring the efficient further improvement of the state of public health. I expect understanding and, as usual, a favorable attitude from Sejm members for government plans unfolded during this presentation.

All government activities are and will be aimed towards strengthening the state of public health in Poland--as we see in health not only a condition favorable for the socioeconomic progress of our nation but one of happiness for each Polish family and every one of us.

9922

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FARMER REFLECTS ON RURAL CONDITIONS, PROSPECTS

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 37, 11 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Karol Wojtaszczyk: "Duties of the Breadwinner"]

[Text] At the beginning of the second chapter of the encyclical by the Holy Father, John Paul II, "On Human Labor" (Laborem exercens), we read: "The Church is convinced that labor is the basic facet of man's existence on earth." Later in the encyclical the Holy Father quotes from the Book of Genesis: "...be fruitful and multiply and subdue the earth." John Paul II teaches: "Man was created in the image of God. God's command to man was that he should subdue the earth and become its master. In executing this command, man, i.e., every human being, repeats the act of Creation in this world by himself... All and everyone in proper measure and in almost indefinite number of ways participate in this gigantic process, during which man 'subdues the earth' by working!"

What can we farmers do for our fatherland? We, who more extensively are in daily contact with the still uncontrollable elements of nature than city people and who wish to maintain our families, often have to work with great haste in the rain and cold, beyond our strength. I need not mention our obligation to work honestly. The very conditions of our work do not allow us to be even momentarily negligent, as this could have negative repercussions: the ruination of many months or even many years of labor. We tend live animals, often as shiftless as children, but much stronger than any of us. A moment's lack of attention can greatly endanger us countryfolk; sometimes these dangers include the acts of ignorant animals. If vigilance is ever lacking, the animals we are tending can be lost. If we fail to sow the land on time, then we will harvest even less than we have sown.

The church teaches us to "feed the hungry:" We understand and try to carry out this commandment. Man must eat, every man, and this truth should unite all people with our farm activity. Our responsibility to the nation is in allowing our fellow countrymen to survive a difficult national economic crisis on earth and in protecting Poles from undernourishment and having to live beneath a minimum biological level, even if the help provided to us is nothing more than just a drop in a sea of other needs. As always, we can rely only on our own Polish efforts. There are other commandments which influence us to feel a sense of obligation: we have to demand boldly, stubbornly and effectively that

the authorities create the conditions which facilitate the production of food so that we may meet the needs of the country. We also need to explain to a part of the city public which believes that the "farmer sleeps while the city dweller works," or that the farmer supposedly has bags of money. They need to know that a large number of farmers live considerably poorer than their city counterparts and that if we farmers cease in our activity, then we cut out that food which feeds the city. Recently, many pieces of farm machinery produced by industry, tractors and other equipment have not met farmers' needs, have been worthless or have constantly demanded expensive repairs. This production of junk for agriculture directly influences the production of food for us all.

Currently, the entire national economy requires the very highest concern; I am concerned with the duties of the economy's breadwinners with regard to farming matters. In the national interest, further indifference towards the breakdown or stagnation of agricultural production is not what is needed for the following reasons:

1. The transformation of Poland into an impoverished and undernourished country in the center of Europe as the result of an agricultural crisis and the additional threat of a world economic and payments crisis, which together with these so-called "sanctions" make getting out of this crisis difficult, will fall upon our children and grandchildren for many decades to come unless we quickly mobilize the efforts of the entire nation and get moving.

2. Any worsening of the difficulties in supplying food, or a regression in agriculture, especially in livestock, will not permit industry to get out of its crisis quickly. This can lead to a reduction in labor productivity in the city and a further worsening in providing agriculture with what it needs. All of this leads to a further decline in the level of the national economy. This further decline in living standards is felt by all of society, and not only materially. It is no accident that democracy and public freedoms can develop only in those countries which have well-functioning economies. Feelings of kindness, solidarity, self-respect, respect for law and order, freedom, justice and patriotism to a great extent develop usually in people who can find the time for spiritual development when the acquisition of food or even a modest bit of clothing does not occupy all one's thoughts or take up all the time between waking up and going to sleep.

3. Agriculture is the only part of the economy whose resources are renewed yearly in the fields. The production of surplus food for export particularly strengthens the economic potential of every country. It is not associated with a country's exhaustion of its national resources as, for instance, through the sale of coal, sulphur or copper. An underestimation of the possibilities and of the role of agriculture in getting the country out of the crisis and the correct functioning of the entire economy is an unpardonable mistake.

Instead of the necessary assistance, we have recently seen how the farmers have had to bear the costs of the crisis in industry on their own shoulders. As a result of diminishing livestock, caused by unfavorable prices for meat production, as well as the unfavorable prices that have to be paid for necessary manufactured farm goods, which are getting even more expensive, many

farms are beginning to be short on cash for necessary, but proportionally even more expensive, outlays for production. Severe shortages of many production items, which our industry has produced for us and could still produce, are worsening the situation. If there is a continued break in the flow of the necessary number of simple tools, spare parts for machinery and tractors, tires and batteries to the country, the farmer will not be able to feed the nation with only his bare hands. A lack of some production causes massive waste in other sectors, e.g., an insufficiency of albuminous fodder considerably increases the expenditure of grains and potatoes on livestock. Engines which pull trains onto sidings in warehouses where milk products are loaded cannot shut down because there is a shortage of efficient batteries for starting the engines back up; the engines wait for hours at a time with motors running, thus expending fuel and wearing the engines themselves down. Ultimately, this leads to an unnecessary increase in production costs.

Although the farmers are not responsible for all this, their incapacity to satisfy requirements totally results in a growing threat on the part of unfriendly centers towards individuals working private plots of land. There are people who make the farmer responsible for food shortages, and criteria for individual plots become even more difficult. A constitutional amendment will not protect the farmer from the auction block if he cannot pay his debts, nor from a forced move to the city because the funds for further production are lacking. Since he wants to stay on his own land, current conditions force the farmer to defend himself against bankruptcy and debt by often working more than 12 hours a day, sometimes with his entire family, as well as against shifts in an economy which can change from producing basic and necessary goods to producing more profitable industrial ones. He must defend himself against the complaints of his own family and from his own digression from his duties as a farmer.

Peasant farming, as no other form of agriculture, is able to produce under conditions of insufficient supply; it makes up for shortages because the farmer puts more muscle into the effort, often beyond his own strength. Despite the dedication of the farm family, the breeding ground for retrogression in agriculture is caused by a further declining economic situation for peasant farms on account of increased taxes and farm payments. This situation will not be improved by the agricultural price regulation of 1 July. This regulation will not compensate the farmer for the enormous increase in the costs of supplies, despite rural expectations. Additionally, the regulation is also tied to the large increase in the price of tractors and farm machinery. One also asks if it is profitable to continue with livestock production; a negative answer may lead to a reduction in production on a considerable number of farms, inasmuch as trying to increase production in the face of growing costs will cease being profitable. A farm family requires few everyday amenities. It will not be the farmers' fault if there is soon a shortage of livestock and the funds acquired through the sale of minerals have to be spent on the import of meat. Meat can be produced at home cheaply, but only if it is profitable for the farmer to do so.

There is no smooth production at the required level without remunerativeness. At the same time, those people writing about agriculture and its economic

situation, without really knowing anything about agriculture, constantly fail to take into account the obvious fact that a farmer, much like a factory worker, cannot dedicate all his emoluments to his family's needs. The farmer is a producer who is willing to produce even more and must, therefore, invest most of his production profit in his future efforts. Even if there is a shortage of ready cash, the farmer is always ready to buy that which is indispensable for further production. What good does it do to fantasize about parity? Even in relying on every other farmer on the farm for his own needs, the farmer's situation is still not compatible with that of the factory worker. The farmer's determination to buy machinery, which an aging farmer can use to do the work he is incapable of physically, is driven by the incapacity of the agricultural circles cooperatives and the malicious discrimination on the part of commerce vis-a-vis the countryside. Recently, country stores were filling up with goods, not because supplies were better, but because one would not buy anything. The shelves were filled with either shoddy or reserved merchandise. The stores are filled with wine glasses, but there are no simple drinking glasses. There is a shortage of the most common sizes of shoes, but there are hundreds of tons of leather ruined through the production of rarely sought-after sizes and fashions. After work, people have to wipe their hands with sacks because towels, which are heaped in pile at the store, can only be bought with ration coupons.

A country housewife with an automatic washer could take care of her washing while simultaneously tending the animals. But the country woman is not provided with the coupons for such a machine, nor for any other such luxuries, like whirlpool washers, sewing machines or refrigerators. It is especially the farmer, who does not have coupons for meat and has to butcher pigs for meat (a part of which usually spoils), who needs a refrigerator. Coupons for refrigerators, however, are provided only to the city, where they most often serve only as decoration in someone's kitchen. The reason: what is there to refrigerate? Only rationed meat can be bought currently, but it still has to be placed in a refrigerator. There was an uproar in the city 2 years ago when farmers were provided with coupons for 2 months for home equipment for slaughtering animals. When will their fellow countrymen realize that farm families need more than just natural fertilizer to live?

Simply untrue is the statement that a restriction in the flow of financial funds to the countryside is a form of the farmers' contribution to extricating the country from its economic crisis. The restriction of funds for production outlays actually restricts production itself on the farm and only worsens the crisis. If we improve the rural stores' provision of the most indispensable everyday goods, there will be no need to fear that the farmer will be discouraged from working because of the low commission paid to the farmers for their agricultural products and their reluctance to sell in order to have something for themselves to eat. In any event, agricultural production always swallows up most of the money on the farm. The owners of private plots, old farmers who prior to retirement do not invest in the farm itself anymore, as well as people with two professions--farmer-craftsman and farmer-clerk--save proportionally less than their counterparts in the city.

In seeking a way out of the agricultural crisis, we may not disregard the development of neighbor self-help and the unity of agricultural producers in the struggle against production obstacles. We cannot stand idly by in a situation where one of the farmers falls ill or is temporarily incapacitated and his land left unsown, his animals untended and his family impoverished. Every farmer must be sure that in the event of misfortune he will receive complete assistance from the surrounding rural community. It is a fact that farmers do not receive allotments for medicine, yet a medical certificate will not relieve him from his duties to milk the cows. We must also effectively combat mismanagement, poor economy and the shameful work of institutions and organizations appointed to assist us in agriculture. The inefficiency of these bodies worsens the conditions of our work and the production results in agriculture; it raises production costs as well. The rural community condemns the greed and arrogance which have been observed in certain farmers who enrich themselves at the expense of the collective thanks to their relations with and acquaintances among the authorities and certain institutions. However, there should be no envy of those wealthy farmers who gain their wealth through productive work and better organizations. It is more important to learn better ways of management from such people.

Doubts might trouble some that the direction of all these efforts to strengthen agriculture and the economy may struggle to suppress the best ideals of the Polish people. In my opinion, no! Quite the contrary. In the direction of this struggle, a spiritual rebirth will join with a natural human tendency to improve living conditions. After all, history teaches us that in the ultimate struggle we can count only on ourselves. A further decline in the economy would only worsen the national lot and this cannot be in Polish interests. If we remain too far behind, we may never be able to catch up to the Europe in which we live, and our many "friends" in the world will scornfully say of our uneconomic methods: "polnische Wirtschaft." Therefore, we Poles must not voice our own personal wrongs and injustices above the interests of the fatherland. Let us learn patriotism from the Teacher of Humanity, John Paul II, who thinks and acts for Poland while he sits on the Throne of Peter. The great enthusiasm which his visit and teachings aroused inside many of us should serve to extricate our fatherland from its crisis.

As the end of the 20th century approaches, it can no longer be concealed that each nation's standard of living will depend on the productivity of its economy regardless of which ideology is used to legitimize the ruling authorities. Time moves relentlessly forward. By marking time around the objective difficulties and subjective incompetences of our economy, we will remain behind the rest of Europe's living standards. Our children and grandchildren will not forgive us if they will have to live in poverty because we, although we could have as long as the decapitalization of our economic potential did not lag too far behind, did not extricate the country from poverty. This our Poland. It is foolish to stand idly by and only watch as our property is sometimes stolen, poorly preserved or ruined outright through incompetence or ill will. The situation has not summoned us all to just stand by, or absolved us to watch with thoughtless satisfaction as someone makes the same mistakes we ourselves could make. We are all the masters of this country and it is necessary to become relentlessly involved in its life. We must assist in its defense.

Everyone has his part to play. I know that this is often immensely difficult because people at the lower levels of administration generally regard initiatives from the rank and file unfavorably. They see them as an infringement on their authority. Premier Jaruzelski himself affirmed in Oliwa Hall in Gdansk that only together can we "clear away the rubble" in Poland. There is no reason for shame. This is our home and it is ludicrous to feel offended if someone, who for some reason or other has gotten the idea into his head that he alone rules Poland and that only he can serve her, refuses our assistance or fails to appreciate our good intentions.

It seems to me that we still fail to appreciate the power of public opinion, which currently is often disoriented but should strongly condemn mismanagement, laziness, and the pushiness of mediocrity based on connections and ties. Inefficiency and poor work are in us all, but no one has a right to forbid us to work well, or not to look for idleness and incompetence. Everyone has his own place on the farm or in the factory. Also unnecessary are those charitable "movements" which are supposed to do that which has already been mentioned, but will not be able to replace the man on the spot in the end. A unanimity among Poles of one mind will be sufficient. It is not important if someone on the side of national existence attaches either an "extrema" or "colaborant" to the encyclical; it is important, however, that he does not interfere in our national effort!

Cui Bono? To whose advantage is it when we work or fail to do so? We should often ask ourselves this question because we can no longer afford any further mistakes. If we see that certain activity fails to serve a consolidation of our spirit, or to improve the worldly welfare of our people, let us not undertake it, but we cannot stop our efforts for the country. The task facing us farmers is to increase the gifts of nature, and we have to fight everything that stands in our way. We consider it passive and resigned when our Creator commanded: "...and subdue the earth!" We must move, work and "clear away" the drunks, loafers, incompetent managers and officious bureaucrats from our country. The basis of Christianity is action. But it is a mistake to move along only one road. Many roads can lead us to our goal, the good of Poland. We need to find and to recognize them all. In my opinion, we should not disregard such roads as the reform and self-government, nor agricultural mechanization. History has proved that ideologies evolve, but economic potential is constant.

12247

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CULTURE MINISTER PRESENTS AWARDS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 235, 4 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by PAP and Michal Misiorny: "Inauguration of the Cultural Year"]

[Text] Outstanding creative artists and activists of culture from the entire country met on 3 October at the Palace on the Water in Lazienki where the celebration of the inauguration of the cultural year and the 1983-84 artistic season took place. The celebration included the presentation of certificates to the winners of awards of the Ministry of Culture and Art for artistic creation in 1983. Among those attending could be found representatives of artistic circles, popularizers of different areas of art, and organizers of cultural life.

Welcoming those gathered, the host of the meeting, Minister of Culture and Art Prof Kazimierz Zygulski, stated that the present year of cultural activity is beginning in a different atmosphere than the past season. This will be above all else a jubilee year of the Polish republic, which places an obligation of greater effort on people of culture to increase their achievements made up to this point in time.

In turn, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski reminded those present that the awards given are certificates of recognition by the people's state and the government for creative artists and their effort. The recent years and months have not been easy for many people of culture, putting them more than once in the position of having to make a difficult decision. However, despite the sometimes even dramatic situations, Polish culture has developed and the people's state has protected it. One of the most visible indications of this care and a realization of the state's patronage is the creation of the National Culture Council and the Culture Development Fund. At the threshold of this new year of cultural activity, emphasized M. Rakowski, it is necessary to realize that the interest of national culture and the people's state requires concentration on the creation of permanent values, assuring the circles of creative artists and activists a climate of participation in the creation of a common good.

K. Zygulski then presented the winners of awards with certificates.

In the area of literature: Award of the first degree: Henryk Bereza, Tadeusz Chroscielewski, Aleksander Rogalski, Janusz Roszko, Aleksander Rymkiewicz;

Award of the second degree: Wladyslaw Ogrodzinski, Dioniza Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa.

In the area of music: Award of the first degree: Maria Foltyn, Teresa May-Czyzowska, Piotr Perkowski, Witold Rowicki, Karol Stryja;

Award of the second degree: Henryk Hubertus Jablonski.

In the area of the fine arts: Award of the first degree: Slawomir Lewinski, Ewelina Peksova, Bronislawa Wilimowska, Jadwiga Zaniewicka;

Award of the second degree: Jozef Burlewicz, Urszula Rukat-Choroszuca.

In the area of artistic photography: Award of the first degree: Krystyna Lyczywek, Kielce Landscape School group.

In the area of theater: Award of the first degree: Jerzy Krasowski, Wanda Luczycka, Stanislaw Mikulski, Jerzy Trela, Maria Zbyszewska;

Award of the second degree: Anna Dymna, Henryk Gizycki, Marek Okopinski.

In the area of circus arts: Award of the first degree: Wacław Giedrojc, Krystyna Terlikowska, Jozef Zembrzycki.

In the area of film: Award of the first degree: Lechoslaw Marszalek, Stanislaw Rozewicz;

Award of the second degree: Sylwester Checinski, Juliusz Machulski, Lezek Skrzydlo.

In the area of radio and television: Award of the first degree: Agnieszka Duczmal, Jerzy Janicki, Kazimierz Karabas;

Award of the second degree: Krystyna Krolowna.

In the area of museum management and protection of national artifacts: Award of the first degree: Jacek Cydzik, Wladimir Kaminski, Jan Muszynski, Wladyslaw Slesinski, the "100 Years of the Polish Workers' Movement" exhibition creators group under the direction of Janina Balcerzak.

In the area of dissemination of culture: Award of the first degree: Zdzislaw Daraz, Regional Song and Dance group of Dabrowa Wielkopolska, Andrzej and Maria Szypowski;

Award of the second degree: Irena and Franciszek Paron, Jozef Wnuk.

Composer Piotr Perkowski offered thanks in the name of the winners for the commendable distinctions.

The celebration ended with a concert of Polish music.

Among those present at the meeting in Lazienki were: PZPR Central Committee secretary Waldemar Swirgon; Central Committee Culture Department director Witold Nawrocki; Vice Marshal of the Sejm Jerzy Ozdowski; Council of State member Stanislaw Wronski; assistant chief of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army, Brigadier General Albin Zyto; representatives of political parties and social organizations; and administrative leaders from the entire country.

Every year, on the threshold of autumn, artists, outstanding workers of culture, representatives of the highest party and state leadership meet at Lazienki Palace. Tradition demands that this autumn threshold is always the opening of the next season of artistic work and of the new year of work of many thousands of institutions for disseminating culture.

What will this new season be like? What can we, what should we be able to expect, we who count ourselves a part of the group of the numerous cultural public, a part of the multitudes of recipients of artistic works?

It was properly stated during the Monday inauguration that the meeting this year in Lazienki ran its course in a better atmosphere than last year. Many outstanding artists came; we recognized the profiles of well known and meritorious activists of culture. The presentation of awards this year by the minister of culture and art became a worthy and lofty fact. Can we, therefore, expect that this good atmosphere, so characteristic of yesterday's inauguration, will extend for the whole season and for following years, that this will be a sign of softening of the many tensions and irritations and also misunderstandings so characteristic of the last 2 or 3 years?

Much points to the fact that this may be the case. Let us also have hope that a spirit of partnership and shared work, indispensable in relations between the world of art and culture and the circle of leadership, will spread gradually but clearly. To the positive declaration of the leadership in this respect, stated during the recent meeting of the cabinet with the participation of the National Culture Council presidium, nothing need be added. Concrete action and creative written, musical, fine arts, theatrical, and film work, undertaken with a mind toward the expectations and needs of our great cultural auditorium, should now become the style of the dialogue.

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CSO: 2600/137

PRESS ACCUSES AUTHOR OF COLLABORATION

Kalabinski Called Collaborator

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Dal: "A Collaborator From Yale University"]

[Text] There is no shortage on the other side of the ocean of official comments by propagandists who regret that it is becoming more and more difficult to re-hash the "Polish question" and use it for confrontation purposes in relations between the East and West. Among these propagandists is Jacek Kalabinski, who is presently the holder of a generous American scholarship at Yale University. A former president of the Warsaw organization of the then SDP [Association of Polish Journalists], he has become a collaborator in foreign, anti-Polish propaganda...

On the pages of the LOS ANGELES TIMES and the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE (8-9 October 1983) he stated with obvious irritation that "Poland cannot occupy the front pages of American and Western European newspapers day after day." He appealed, however, to authoritative circles in the West not to ease by chance anti-Polish sanctions and economic restrictions, since that would be an "inappropriate signal." For our people, too. Although, as he admits in passing, the probable easing of sanctions would correct the balance of Polish foreign trade and would unburden the economy and Polish families.

However, all this has no meaning at all, the present American scholarship holder declaims, since everything should be done to force "Warsaw" to concede. And while he is residing on the other side of the ocean, he assures his employers that "Poles are willing to pay the price" of persisting in useless opposition in the face of reality, which Radio Free Europe also encourages them to do.

Kalabinski also condemns "Western bankers and politicians" who are beginning to detect normalization in the situation in Poland and are ready to profit from this fact by resuming normal cooperation because normalization in Polish economic relations with the West does not please Kalabinski, either. Although, after all, more than one person who listened to Polish Radio at the end of the 1970's remembers him as an ardent advocate of encumbering Poland with debts, especially in the United States (not to mention the panegyrics expressed in books on the subject of the shah of Iran...).

American newspapers, printing Kalabinski's commentaries which call for extending anti-Polish sanctions, disclose the fact that he was the president of the Warsaw branch of the former SDP. This is supposed to impart some additional political significance to his tirades. But in fact they are printing merely the laborious writings of a bankrupt who, together with a group of ex-"restorers" like him, is suggesting how it would be possible to continue to harm Poland.

Kalabinski Investigated by Prosecutor

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 83 p 5

[Text] The provincial prosecutor in Warsaw has begun an investigation in the matter of the dissemination abroad, under the name of Jacek Kalabinski through the intermediary of the newspaper INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, of false information detrimental to the basic interests of the Polish People's Republic.

The author of the article, among other things, calls for a continuation, and even intensification, of economic restrictions by the Western nations with regard to Poland, not considering the burdens which Polish society can bear as a result.

J. Kalabinski, a former editor for Polish Radio and president of the former Warsaw branch of the Association of Polish Journalists, is living at present in the United States on scholarship at Yale University.

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CSO: 2600/138

PAPAL VISIT DESCRIBED AS BENEFICIAL TO CHURCH

Vienna EUROPAEISCHE RUNDSCHAU in German No 83/4, Fall 83 pp 35-43

[Article by A. B. Osadczuk-Korab: "Advance, Retreat or Standstill?--Poland's Catholic Church after the Papal Visit"]

[Text] Opinions are divided about the consequences of the Polish Pope's second visit to his homeland. Perhaps not quite as drastically as it looked prior to this memorable pilgrimage, when the lineup of those who were against it was rather strong, among the enemies of the communist red generals regime as well as among its adherents. The former were afraid the euphoria expected to break out would soon give way to depression and frustration among the Catholic masses. Many skeptics were worried the Pope would provide the military-bureaucratic dictatorship with a moral relief it had not received before, which could assist its breaking the diplomatic and other blockade by the West. The others, found in the ranks of the now debilitated appendages to the Jaruzelski regime and among pro-Soviet functionaries, had the premonition Pope Wojtyla would inspire the masses to continue their passive resistance and the national front of refusal altogether, so that in the final analysis possible foreign policy advantages might vanish in comparison with domestic policy disadvantages. Also, among Poland's communist allies further difficulties might arise out of this mess for the normalization process of relations with Warsaw.

On the other hand, the interest in seeing the pilgrimage of the Polish Pope come true was motivated by very many different ways among all who were very much for it, having very different orientations in almost all foreign policy matters and domestic concerns, from Cardinal Josef Glemp, his clergy and the Catholic lay public, to the bulk of the leadership in the Solidarity underground, to the entourage of General Jaruzelski. Glemp expected, at the most, a build-down of the domestic political confrontation, a resumption of the dialogue between the rulers and the ruled, and a transition to an era of mutual reconciliation. At least, the Cardinal thought, the home visit of John Paul II would lead to the desired consolidation of the Church and his equally desired growth in authority as the head of the Catholic Church in Poland. Solidarity, underground, hoped the Pope would have something clear to say about the problem of the suspended and threatened basic and civic rights and about the social issue, whereby he would bolster the moral and political strength of the reform movement. Jaruzelski's government team, in turn, expected the Pope's blessing for its concept of order and discipline and the gradual removal of all western restrictions and reservations.

It presumably is still too early for a well balanced judgment on the consequences of the Pope's mission to his homeland. There has not been enough time for that, and too slight yet are the marks of Pope Wojtyla's radiating power in consequence of the seed of ideas he planted in his homeland soil to draw cogent inferences. All we have to go by are the first reactions, attitudes and cautious prognoses.

Voices from the Outside

Some intellectuals and politicians of Polish descent or associates of theirs dealing with Polish problems ventured some assessments after the Pope's visit to Poland. In the view of the Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski, who lives in the West, the pilgrimage of John Paul II has given neither the authorities nor the population of Poland any clear political advantage. The basic goal of Polish society, the democratization of political life, was as remote after the Pope's visit as it had been before. On the one side, the Pope had bolstered the nation's spirit and the enormous moral authority of the Church, which also enhanced the role of the Church as the only possible partner for the government to talk to, but on the other side, official authorities had provided the evidence, through their measures against the opposition and the defamation campaign against Lech Walesa, that it would carry on the old course. Zbigniew Brzezinski, once President Carter's security advisor and today professor for international relations at Georgetown University in Washington, primarily finds the results of the Pope's pilgrimage in the moral support it has given the Polish public. The visit had created chances for reviving the dialogue between the government and the Church. The Church now was the only institutional representation of the nation. Jaruzelski also could exploit the Pope's trip to Poland as a new argument for defending Poland's interests vis-a-vis Moscow and thereby create a counterweight to Soviet pressures on Warsaw.

In the view of the former editor in chief of the U.S. journal PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, Brumberg, who also has put out a new U.S. analytical compendium on the Polish events,^{*} the government team in Warsaw will, after this visit, have to opt for dialogue with the Church. That alone would prevent new confrontations. The Pope had reinforced the traditional role of the Church as a guardian of Polish national ideas. The visit had also made clear, however, that ever since a Polish Pope has ruled the Vatican some of the Polish problems are affected and decided from there. Professor Seweryn Blaler, director of the Institute for International Problems at Columbia University in New York, who comes from Poland, is more skeptical about the situation than the others. Theoretically, it would be perfectly conceivable for the Jaruzelski government to establish a domestic truce after the papal visit to grab the chance for more western economic aid. Yet the communists in Poland were so fearful and afraid of the reaction of its population as well as of Moscow's disfavor, so that they were not likely to use this chance and continue their policy, which can satisfy neither the Kremlin nor the Polish population.

The Communists' Ambiguous Stance

The Jaruzelski government had the head of the church office, Professor Lopatka, evaluate the papal visit as a constructive and beneficial event. This peremptory

^{*}"Poland--Genesis of a Revolution," New York, 1983.

judgment aside, no detailed and well rounded evaluation has been officially announced. In vain, the disoriented members of the nominally ruling PZPR have been waiting for a substantial explanation. Only selected party apparatchiks learned from internal circulars that the papal visit, from the standpoint of the Jaruzelski regime, was not as idyllic as they wanted to have the outside believe. These internal party bulletins indicate that the government had to raise protest against the high visitor twice, once because of the Pope's speech to the youth at Czestochowa and once because of Radio Vatican reports from Warsaw (as to the internal party bulletin of Szczecin No 160).

Not in official party papers but in the weeklies meant for a narrow audience have attempts been made to suggest a turn to "Realpolitik" in John Paul II. But that risk was taken by the epigones of Polish national communism, mainly by the editor in chief of the Krakow weekly ZYCIE LITERACKIE, Wladyslaw Machajek. In his view, Solidarity, underground, had to be appalled to find out that the Pope had drafted a long-term policy for the Church in Poland that was not definitely opposed to the government. In his sermons the Pope, to be sure, had used harsh expressions, especially when dealing with the state as the employer, but that was perfectly correct and useful also for the development of relations between the people and the government. When he, however, compared the Pope's meetings with the millions of faithful with the communist 1 May celebrations, Machajek--as he later had to admit in two articles--was overwhelmed with an avalanche of "aggressive letters of protest."^{*}

Something like it also happened in Wroclaw, according to the ironic reports in the weekly there of the leftist communists, SPRAWY I LUDZIE. Jan Kurowicki, who handles ideological questions there, stated in his final comments on the papal pilgrimage that the meetings with John Paul II brought out the "true soul of many Poles," in whom the relics of the old mentality, continuity and tradition had remained intact in spite of superficial industrialization, TV, chewing gum, washing machines and the wearing of jeans. In terms of the political contents conveyed by the Pope and the reaction to them one should be aware that all one had seen only was the tip of the iceberg. That contained the challenge to policy and to a new start in the sense of the "need to provide clear and reasonable political, economic and social information about future prospects. To realize what that means today is bound to prove damned hard, however."^{**} Elsewhere the same author thinks now one should have to abandon all plans of "pushing the church back into the sacristy through the propaganda of rational thought and lay culture. Such ideas would only be evidence for the illusions of 18th century bourgeois rationalism and atheism."^{***}

Variety of Aspects

In a comparative analysis of the Polish reactions after the papal visit, the voice that speaks loudest is that of the sociologist and Sejm deputy Professor Jan Szczepanski. As a Pole he is atypical, however, because he belongs to the small minority of Evangelical believers and stems from the Polish-Czech border area where critical thinking is likely to be more of a pronounced tendency than

^{*} ZYCIE LITERACKI, Krakow, Nos 27, 29, 33, 1983.

^{**} SPRAWY I LUDZIE, Wroclaw, No 26, 1983.

^{***} Ibid., No 29, 1983.

in other regions. In the still fairly moderate Warsaw weekly POLITYKA, he pointed out the variety of aspects inherent in the papal visit. The Pope, as it were, had come to Poland in a dual function, as the Bishop of Rome and as a Polish cardinal for one thing, but also as an outstanding politician and great creator of culture. The Polish intellectuals also saw in him the creator of cultural values, the author, philosopher and theologian, possessing extraordinary leadership qualities to boot. All that had so much affected the atmosphere of the visit that "no free thinker could have the guts to doubt any of the Pope's theses. Of the anticlericalism of the Polish intellectuals of the period between the wars nothing is left in the socialist Poland of 1983."

Western journalists, even Catholics, could hardly comprehend Polish Catholicism in the global religious mission of the Church under the current papacy. The religious and cultural policy aspects of the visit mean very much to the Poles, however. There had been two levels for it: in the meetings with the masses, in the sermons and speeches, but also in closed meetings in the circles of bishops and laity, in meetings with the priests and in talks with the politicians.

In the religious sphere, the visit could bring about a "gradual quieting down of the nationalistic radicalism in the clergy." In the organizational sphere of the Church one would have to expect the extension of the role of incumbencies and the various forms of social-religious activities by the faithful. This was the field where in the final analysis the problem of the relationship between Catholic social doctrine and Marxism would be settled. It could also be supposed that the papal visit would contribute to a clearer definition of church-state relations. In the 1980's the church in Poland had become a "relevant active political force." Neither Solidarity nor Walesa had offered competition to the mighty Church. Yet the Church, between 1980 and 1983, had benefited most from the political changes and now should have to consolidate these accomplishments. The political strength of the Church did not come from the activity of Catholic groups in the Sejm nor from the priests' "nationalistic sermons." That position had been established by bishops such as Wyszynski in the sense of a long-range conception and on behalf of the almost eternal interests of the Church. In 1980 and 1981 the Church had used its opportunities at an optimum while creating the foundations for the years ahead. After the Pope's first visit in 1979, there had been the notion the Catholic masses, after meeting the Pope, would return to their ordinary work and no serious consequences would arise from it for the party. But one year later one had found it had been a qualitative turn in the political life of Poland. But in 1983 the question differs from what it had been in 1979. The earlier visit had awakened the awareness of the attractive force of the Church. The last papal visit had confirmed the effectiveness of that force.

Szczepanski advises Poland's communist party it should carefully study the history of relations between religion and liberalism in Western Europe and remember that not struggle and repression but tolerance and indifference shook the position of the churches in Western Europe.*

*POLITYKA, Warsaw, No 30, 1983.

Views from "Solidarity"

Looked at from Solidarity's viewpoint, the importance of the papal visit comes down to something different of course. An underground publication organ asks how things are to continue and thinks it could seem that actually nothing has happened. All have stuck to their old positions, and several million hands raised for showing the V-sign cannot make up for the divisions of the Warsaw Pact. Even so, Stalin's remark, "How many divisions does the Pope have?" indicated a profound ignorance of that sociopolitical movement. Armed strength rescues nothing but the ruling power. That also had happened in Poland after 13 December 1981. Yet the changes that have occurred since will work for the benefit of the regime. The program to atomize society had failed. All of a sudden, because of the visit, all--East and West--had to acknowledge the realities of the Polish situation. That the government wants to present the visit as its own success was not surprising because it wanted to justify itself in the eyes of the allies abroad and the enemies in its own ranks. Hard as it was to predict the further course of events, the material did not alone decide things in politics, but the ideas rather that turn into material force and govern the masses, as the classic authors of Marxism had correctly maintained.*

Sure enough, it had been a religious visit, but when the Pope spoke of rights in the land of no rights and of freedom where there is no freedom, demanding justice in an atmosphere of injustice, it also became a political visit, as another underground trade union paper writes. It was not a matter of defending Solidarity because now it was not a matter of the trade unions but of defending the nation deprived of its elemental values. Solidarity as a trade union has done its job, that of a social movement and of solidarity of men in truth. The visit has demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the methods thus far in the exercise of power. The nation had now been provided with the sense of its own dignity and truth, and that was more important than the strength of tanks.**

"We know the government will try after the papal visit to destroy everything that was built up within the nation during these memorable days," another underground paper says. "The government will take revenge against the people that turned away from it. It will contend that not faith, hope and love rule in real socialism, but cynicism, doubt and hatred. But on the lawns in Krakow John Paul II said things should be called by their names. Our speech must be plain: yes-yes, no-no. Treason must be called treason, and infamy, infamy. By no other language can one understand one another in the truly important matters."***

III Feeling between Glemp and Jaruzelski

Soon after the papal visit martial law was replaced by a state of emergency to be in effect till 1985. Before that the primate of Poland had requested General Jaruzelski in writing to change the undignified conditions of a selective amnesty

*TYGODNIK WOJENNY, No 63, 1983.

**BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY, No 63, 1983.

***KOS, No 35, 1983.

and permit the release of all political prisoners and the return of the penalized workers and employees to their old jobs and the readmission of the relegated students to their universities. Glemp furthermore intervened against the planned toughening of preventative censorship of the press, books and art. Jaruzelski turned down these interventions in a personal letter to Glemp, courteously yet resolutely. He is said to have excused himself in that letter by that the "socialist allies" of Poland had ruled out a general amnesty and the preservation of the loose censorship thus far. The Warsaw government was compelled to respect that standpoint.

If that was the formulation--and those in the know affirm it--General Jaruzelski then, without reservation, admitted to Primate Glemp how limited Poland's sovereignty is. Previously the general had denied all such claims in all his public speeches as vicious allegations. The aborted interventions have irritated Glemp and most bishops so much that another bottleneck has arisen in state-church relations. So Glemp canceled the previously planned meeting with Jaruzelski. Also the negotiations between the church hierarchy and the council of ministers about an assistance program for private Polish agriculture, supported by foreign aid, the FRG and the U.S. episcopate, which was to be carried out under the auspices of the Polish church hierarchy, were scratched for the time being.

A new quarrel between the independent Catholics and the representatives of the Jaruzelski regime is still more vehement than the ill feeling mentioned before. The fight broke out over a lead article in the weekly of the independent Catholic laity, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, written by its editor in chief Jerzy Turowicz in Krakow. Turowicz put the special laws and civil rights restrictions ratified by the Sejm under the microscope and came to the conclusion that because of them the Polish nation was facing up to the end of 1985 "very long 900 days of a painful transitional stage." He summarized all restrictions resulting from the special legislation for the workers' self-administration, the trade unions, the colleges and associations and thought it would impinge any genuine truce. Turowicz asserted that the Polish nation respected the constitution as well as the leadership role of the PZPR and international alliances and harbored no aspirations to eliminate the socialist government system. There was the question, however, what sort of socialism was to rule in Poland and which values it represented. Since August 1980 Polish citizens had gained new insights as to the deepening of national identity and the partnership as subjects, not as objects. Of it, as well as of the need to establish genuine dialogue between the government and the citizens, the Church had been talking all along, and John Paul II had appealed for it repeatedly during his pilgrimage. The time therefore had come to create the conditions for such a dialogue. Two voices were needed for it though in the last 585 days only one voice had been heard.

Communist party circles reacted with indignation to Turowicz' standpoint. The communist's mouthpiece, TRYBUNA LUDU, attacked the Catholic journalist and personal friend of Pope Wojtyla frontally. The paper imputed to Turowicz he operated with alien visions and as a self-appointed spokesman for postulates that had nothing to do with Polish realities. There was no return to the time before 13 December 1981, and there were enough opportunities for a dialogue with the public, mainly thanks to the genesis of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, PRON.

Utterances by government spokesman Jerzy Urban intimate that the regime envisages the old cleavage strategy. It sought to design diverse positions between the Pope and the Polish episcopate on the one side and the independent Catholic laity and the lower clergy, on the other. That design, however, collapsed due to the Pope's declarations to the Polish pilgrims in Rome, the communique of the 195th plenary bishops conference of 27 August, and the sermon by Cardinal Glemp on 4 September in Czestochowa. John Paul II, Primate Glemp and the Polish episcopate, it turned out, are holding the same standpoint as the one Turowicz has formulated. This identity is likely to be the most important event of Pope Wojtyla's second visit to his homeland.

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CSO: 2300/113

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES RCP CC PLENUM

AU180900 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Nov 83 pp 1, 3

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the RCP Central Committee Plenum in Bucharest on 15 November]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades: The Central Committee plenum unanimously adopted the single national plan for socioeconomic development in 1984 and several very important programs of measures to improve overall activities and unflinchingly implement the decisions of the 12th Congress and the National Conference on Building the Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society and ensuring Romania's progress toward communism.

On the basis of results attained in the first 10 months of this year, one can assess that the 1983 plan will be commendably fulfilled, by attaining an approximately 5 percent industrial growth rate. Certain positive results were also attained in the economic indexes; but since this issue has already been discussed at the plenum and was included in the plenum report, I do not wish to dwell upon it.

In agriculture, under conditions of this year's drought, we obtained satisfactory production in general, although not up to our possibilities. Other sectors of activity were also developed. One can state that scientific research has played a very important part this year in improving overall activities and in the great achievements we have registered.

In view of overall achievements in 1983, one can assert that, by firmly implementing the decisions of the national conference and overcoming certain difficulties in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, we succeeded in scoring important results in the entire socioeconomic activity and creating necessary prerequisites for better fulfilling the 1981-85 5-Year Plan.

On this basis, we could also proceed to adopt measures for further raising all the working people's living standard, thus again demonstrating that the increase in the well-being of all the people is directly connected with unswervingly fulfilling socioeconomic development programs, raising economic efficiency in all fields, and continuously increasing the national income, the sure base of the overall development of the fatherland and of the increase in the overall prosperity of the people.

Therefore comrades, we can state that with the results attained thus far, we have ensured all the conditions for implementing the national conference decisions on socioeconomic development in the current 5-year plan and thus fulfilling the provisions of the 12th Party Congress on attaining a new quality of work and proceeding to a new development stage of our fatherland.

Dear comrades, as you could note from the materials presented to you, the 1984 plan provides for an important increase in industrial and agricultural production and in all other sectors of our economy. The plan provides for growth rates of more than 10 percent in certain economic branches. Several countries referred at this plenum to growth rates of 12, 13, and even 14 percent, both in respect to industrial production and in other basic plan indexes. One must state that the 1984 plan provisions are based upon the existence of the technical material base and manpower and that these growth rates are in full accordance with the realities and capacity of our national economy.

At the same time, we must remember that, despite the good rate of growth, general development in 1981, 1982, and even 1983 fell short of plan potential and provisions. We must now work resolutely in order to recoup in 1984 and 1985 most of the arrears of the first years of the 5-year plan. We have accumulated considerable technical-materials means, we have a great scientific potential, and we have raised the working people's professional skills; hence, we have everything we need. We must now shift the focus from quantity to superior quality. In point of fact, the 12th Congress already put the stress on achieving this objective.

At the same time, the 1984 plan also envisages implementation of the decisions of the 12th Congress on developing the production forces in all countries, on more evenly distributing industry throughout the country, and appropriately developing agriculture. Certain improvements over the first 3 years have been achieved, and in several counties which lagged behind in the first part of the 5-year plan the necessary measures have been scheduled so that provisions concerning the development of production forces should be generally fulfilled in all counties.

While, for the industrial sector, problems have been solved under the plan, I want to call your attention to the fact that there are lags in small-scale industry. Some counties are very weak in this respect and must give greater attention to small-scale industry. At the same time, each county will have to take all the necessary measures, in accordance with plan provisions, to make up for the lags and to develop services in keeping with the requirements of the working people and of consumers. Similarly, I must add that some counties have exceeded the 5-year plan provisions for agricultural production; unfortunately, however, others--more than a few--still fall short of plan provisions.

Each county has to fulfill at least the tasks incumbent on it under the plan. Since the plan itself is not demanding enough for certain counties, untapped potential is still great, we must obtain more intensive development both by

the rational use of existing plots of land, and by sowing second crops, and each county has great potential in this respect.

We expect the 1984 and 1985 plans to ensure the implementation of the 12th Congress decisions concerning regional development of production forces. This is an essential condition for raising the general level of civilization and for implementing the self-management and self-supply programs.

It may be stated that the plan provides all the necessary means for the fulfillment of its provisions, in keeping with the prescribed energy and materials consumption norms and with requirements designed to ensure smooth production in all sectors. As you know, this year we adopted measures to reduce material consumption and established new consumption norms and standards which are closer to international levels. It has been demonstrated that some of them can even be exceeded this year and that we have the means to reduce them considerably, and thus to ensure good material supply.

In 1984 we must endeavor to ensure steady implementation of the program on energy and raw materials. We still encounter many difficulties concerning energy, due, on the one hand, to the fact that hydropower stations produce about 1,300-1,500 NW daily due to water shortages; and on the other hand, to the fact that coal-burning thermopower stations are not utilized to capacity because of poor maintenance and failure to carry out capital repairs when needed. Were coal-burning stations to work at only 70 percent of their constructed capacity, we would not have any energy problem, even at times of water shortages. I have discussed this problem with the first secretaries of the counties that have the major coal-burning power stations. We have also taken measures in the mining sector to ensure that coal is delivered in keeping with prescribed calorie requirements and, at least in the past week, this has been done, and deliveries to some stations have even exceeded provisions. Nevertheless, a large number of power stations still do not function. I want to ask the county committees, the Ministry of Electrical Power, and other central bodies to take the due measures to rapidly complete repairs, to exercise daily supervision, and to focus all forces on ensuring that coal power stations function normally and at capacity. We have had to make great efforts and to even import additional quantities of crude oil in order to ensure the necessary energy requirements. But we cannot continue in this manner, comrades! We do not even have facilities which run on crude oil, because we have stopped building them, having put the entire emphasis on coal-based energy. I want this thoroughly understood by the miners, who must deliver the necessary quantities of coal on schedule, as well as by those employed in the energy sector; we must ensure that coal-burning power stations function properly.

We have obtained certain results in developing raw material resources. Already by next year we will produce domestically sufficient quantities of lead and zinc to cover requirements. Domestic copper production is increasing, and in the coming 3 years, at the most, we hope to produce all the copper we need. The same potential exists for other ores, too. However, we must give greater attention to mining activities and must implement our investment program in the mining sector and all mechanization and other measures designed

to fulfill the decisions of the congress and of the national conference on energy self-reliance and on increasing the domestic production of raw materials.

We have obtained certain good results in recovering and recycling materials, parts, and subassemblies. As I have said before, there are sectors that can derive 50 percent or more of their raw materials' requirements from recovered and recycled materials. That is already a very important resource, comrades! We have potential for that, and we must act more intensively to recover, recondition, and recycle parts and subassemblies--up to 50 percent in some places--as a good source of supplies. This will also contribute to generally cutting back costs, because lower costs are involved in using, in production, recoverable materials rather than imported or even domestic raw materials. Subassemblies and parts can also be used in production [whether speakers means recoverable ones not further specified] at up to 50 percent lower costs. Hence, this course of action can bring about reduced material expenditures and costs, and shows why we decided to aim for very serious cuts in costs and material expenditures in 1984. I am stressing this because it seems to me that some comrades have attempted to demonstrate that our demands concerning material expenditure cuts are too high. Not so, comrades! Our potential is even bigger than that. We have reduced material consumption by 30-35 percent for some products and even by 40 percent for others; if we proceed to appropriately recover materials and recondition parts and subassemblies, as well as to other savings, we will see--and this is the natural outcome--that what we have decided for 1984 is not even all we can do. We still have untapped resources in this respect.

It is therefore necessary on the basis of the things discussed here, to firmly work to unswervingly implement the programs and decisions on questions concerning energy, raw materials, and the reduction of material and energy consumption. We must consider the stipulations included in the plans and programs as a minimum in the reduction of consumption. We must further work to identify new ways to cut back on consumption.

The plan and the other programs place particular emphasis on raising the quality of production, improving the technical level, and better utilizing raw materials. In this respect the program, which was discussed and unanimously endorsed by the plenum, must be considered as one of the most important programs for implementing the decisions of the 12th Congress on attaining a new quality in all fields of activity. We have a modern industry with highly technical equipment and machines. We have invested quite a lot, we even took loans for this, it is now necessary to produce goods, at a qualitative and technical level which is at least equal to everything at the world level.

The program we adopted a short while ago includes all these measures. We even proposed to be always ahead of the competition, by a few percentages, and to turn out even better products than are being produced at the world level; only thus can we compete abroad, become involved in the struggle for a new scientific-technical revolution, and always be competitive on world markets.

This program must be understood as a general guideline; it follows that we must always improve upon it and correct it every year so that it reaches higher stages; only thus can our socialist society prove its force and capacity and stay in step with the latest achievements in the world. Only thus can we demonstrate the force and capacity of the working people--in their capacity as owners, producers, end-users, and masters in their own country--to better administer and lead the country's affairs than the capitalists. And we must do this!

The plan also pays particular attention to problems of labor productivity. We have recently adopted a special program in this respect. Here too there is great room for improvement. We have the appropriate technical equipment, we have a working class with appropriate experience and we have engineers and technicians capable of ensuring a modern organization of labor and production and a considerable increase in labor productivity.

It is well understood by each of us and by all our people that labor productivity is also a decisive aspect in implementing the party program, for building a superior socialist society, and for building communism.

The growth rates envisaged for 1984 must be viewed as a minimum rate, as must the program provisions up to 1985-90 in general. In this respect, too, we have to act each year to seek new ways and means to improve our activity and to increase labor productivity more and more forcefully.

According to the program we can indeed expect to match the results of certain developed countries in this respect as soon as 1990. We have, of course, taken into consideration a certain labor productivity increase in those countries, too. In my view, the comrades who worked out the program have been too indulgent. They have underestimated the development of labor productivity in other countries, and assuming too low a rate. However, as is well known, throughout the world the problem of labor productivity is of concern not just to company managers, but also to state leaders. In point of fact, all leaders of developed countries consistently stress the need for an even greater increase in labor productivity. That is why we must keep in mind the fact that our provisions are minimal and that we risk staying behind. Therefore, without now attempting to modify the program or the provisions for 1984, I want to stress that they should be viewed as minimal, and that every year we must endeavor to increase them. In fact, these measures are in accordance with the directives of the 12th Congress and of the national conference of the party, and are designed to ensure the implementation of decisions taken by our party's supreme bodies.

We must also give greater attention to increasing economic efficiency. For that we must take more resolute steps to reduce material and production expenditures. Our programs are aimed at that. However, there are also other areas in which enormous amounts of money are spent and considerable material means are wasted, and those must be eliminated. All workers' councils, ministry leaderships, general meetings, and financial organizations must responsibly act to more markedly increase economic efficiency and profitability in all sectors.

All those matters are essential for implementing the 1984-85 plan, the 5-year plan, and the provisions of the 12th Party Congress and the national conference. and for raising our fatherland to a higher level of development, for continuously developing it, and on that basis, for raising the people's material and cultural living standard.

I believe that in those areas the plan provisions and the programs are very clear and realistic. What we must now do is to energetically take the necessary measures for optimally implementing them.

Esteemed comrades, in 1984 we will have to considerably increase agricultural, vegetable and animal production. This year climate conditions were difficult and we were afflicted by prolonged drought. However, even in these conditions, where people worked well, yeilds were higher than plan provisions. In 1983 many units achieved 20,000 kg [as received] and even more of corn per hectare. Some of them produced such quantities on irrigated land, and some on non-irrigated land, which proves that the essential factors obtaining large agricultural outputs is the resolute application of scientific methods, carrying out agricultural operations well and on schedule, properly tending the crops, and harvesting crops without losses.

That is why we cannot be happy with the crops of a county whose land is almost 80 percent irrigated, or even with the crops of counties--and not just a few--whose land is already 40, 50, or 60 percent irrigated. No one can be allowed to evade his responsibilities and talk of drought and other difficulties to justify unfulfilled production.

I am stressing this because all of the Central Committee members and all the first secretaries are here, and they must understand that negative situations in agriculture must be eliminated. Naturally, we will hold a special meeting about this in December to discuss in detail all the lessons of 1983 and to ensure optimal agricultural production in 1984.

Generally speaking, plan provisions for grain fall short of our agricultural potential. No county can claim that large yields [have] been envisaged for it. An output of 3,500 kg wheat per hectare is satisfactory but not good. It must be clear to us that in this area, too, we have ample means and all the requirements for carrying on a productive agriculture and for obtaining far larger crops than in the past. And that applies to all crops without exception!

Next year the problem of grains will continue to be of primary importance. We have, indeed, carried out fall sowing. We still have to complete plowing for next spring. I hope that each one has realized how very important it is and why it is necessary for us to complete all plowing and to perform deep plowing under favorable conditions. I think I am not exaggerating if I say that if we had not completely finished fall plowing we would not have been able to achieve even half of this year's crops.

We must now determinedly proceed to prepare the other operations for spring sowing. We must organize the plots of land so that they are used in an

appropriate manner, we must organize the land areas as has been established and, in particular, we must carry out furrow irrigation on all lands sown to corn and to root crops. All this must be prepared now. Apart from plowing, we must carry out in the fall and winter all works that are decisive for achieving good crops in 1984.

I can by no means be satisfied with the yields obtained for industrial plants. You have good seeds available, you have proper know-how, and we do have certain results; however, on the whole, we cannot be satisfied. In this respect, too, we must take resolute measures to ensure everything that is necessary to achieve good yields in all industrial plants, in vegetable growing, grape growing and fruit growing. In the fall we must already prepare the land for industrial crops and secure the necessary fertilizer. Similarly, we must prepare the land for vegetables, do the fall sowing, and ensure everything that is required for good crops. The same applies for vineyard and orchard work.

This year we have had good second crops. We have been sowing corn as a second crop for a while now, but work used to be unsatisfactory. This year it has been proven that sunflower, soybean, and other crops, including flax and hemp can also give good yields when sown after barley. Hence, this year we plan to sow at least 2 million hectares--and by 1990, 3-3.5 million hectares--to second crops. For that, however, we must learn from past experience, and must learn to view second crops not as something additional, but as a normal agricultural requirement that is to be carried out according to all the requirements of agricultural sciences. We must implement the law concerning rational utilization of each hectare and each square meter of land.

Certain good results were obtained this year in the area of livestock. Both the number of livestock as well as animal production have increased somewhat this year. Although short of plan provisions, the results obtained prove that we have the requirements for implementing the livestock plan. We think that the number of pigs we now have is sufficient. Provisions concerning pig raising in state enterprises will no longer be expanded, since we believe that half a pig per capita is sufficient. Naturally, farmers are expected to privately raise about 4 million pigs yearly, which they do. Hence, in this area, the stress will be put on fattening the pigs as efficiently as possible, with as little expenditure as possible.

As for cattle, we must still make efforts to attain the plan figures. Therefore, in 1984 and 1985, and perhaps for another 1-2 years of the next 5-year plan we will continue to slaughter fewer cattle in order to attain the prescribed number; after that, we plan to slaughter annually 2.5-3 million cattle, thus ensuring the necessary meat and, of course, milk and other products. Cattle are more economical than pigs; they require less grain, can be put to pasture on grazing and hay fields, and permit a more efficient utilization of other agricultural byproducts, and hence we must develop this sector. Similarly, we must endeavor to attain at least 25 million sheep, which are also more economical; they provide meat, milk, and wool, and can be fed on pastures and hayfields, and on other agricultural byproducts very well. I am stressing this because everyone must grasp that we must do everything possible to implement the program designed to increase the number of cattle and sheep. We think

that the number of fowl we now have is also sufficient. But we must raise other animals, too, such as rabbits, which do not require much grain.

However, even with the number of livestock we now have we have the requirements for fulfilling the plan provisions--including the self-supply plan--and all the provisions concerning the development of the livestock sector. We must put greater stress on increasing production, so that within a short period of time we can attain at least 4,000 liters of milk per cow in state agricultural enterprises. As a first stage we expect to have 3,000 liters of milk per cow in agricultural cooperatives. With such output we can achieve a large milk surplus even without increasing the number of cows.

Hence, aside from endeavoring to increase livestock numbers, we must act to increase production. We must ensure that animals are slaughtered at the prescribed weight and must implement all the other measures established. For that, all counties must take measures to fulfill the program concerning natural grazing and hayfields, which constitute a great source of fodder.

Special attention will have to be given to implementing the national program on irrigation, drainage, and anti-erosion work. All these matters were discussed in detail at last summer's plenum; we must, however, work resolutely and implement these provisions year by year, as this is the only way to ensure good crops in all weather conditions. We have achieved much in this respect, comrades. Previously we were one of the European countries with the smallest area of irrigated land; now, if I am not mistaken, we are the first in Europe from the viewpoint of irrigated land and--in terms of percentage of the total area--we have already exceeded 25 percent. We have, of course, made great efforts and have amassed a good experience. We plan to irrigate 60 percent of our land, and that is a must! However, at the same time, we must appropriately utilize irrigated land.

Once again I want to raise the problem of rational land utilization. It is quite abnormal to cultivate wheat and corn on slopes and to leave the plains for pasture. This is what is happening in Bacau County and in fact in all hilly and mountainous areas. In order to achieve large crops we must place crops better, in addition to carrying out anti-erosion and terracing work, in order to utilize the entire productive capacity of the soil. In the past 10 years we have planted tens of thousands of hectares of vineyards and fruit trees in the plains instead of hills. In so doing we have actually diminished our arable area. That is why the government and the National Council for Agriculture should take resolute measures and gradually shift those plantings from the plains to the hills. This is a problem of organization and also of rational utilization of our land that can ensure better crops.

I will not now speak about fertilizers or mechanization; the plan provisions in these areas are clear. We have all the necessary equipment and sufficient specialized cadres--even more than we need--we have workers, cooperative members, and peasants who are now experienced in mechanized work. Now we must resolutely begin implementing agricultural provisions! The year 1984 must indeed bring radical improvements in all agricultural activities and also large quantities of crops.

Esteemed comrades, the plan calls for considerable investment projects for 1984. Much more than in 1983, but here, too, we were guided by what I said before, namely by the fact that in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan and even this year investment provisions were not implemented. In the first 2 years we even cut down on investments somewhat, while in 1983 the program established was not completely fulfilled. That is why the rate of investment growth in 1984 seems high. However, if we consider the initial provisions, we see that we lag behind the 5-year plan provisions considerably, despite the increase envisaged for 1984.

We must implement the entire investment program in all sectors, so as to be able to commission new facilities on schedule and thus ensure the necessary requirements for smooth activities. Similarly, I want to stress the need for good maintenance and capital repairs, since many lags in production--with their economic repercussions--are due to the fact that plants sometimes do not function at full capacity and that there are many stoppages and slow-downs causing us great losses. Each of you is aware of this problem so I will not dwell on it any longer. But we must take measures and must review the repairs and maintenance program. Each plant must discuss this problem in its management council; the capital repairs program must be reviewed--as an annex of the general investment plan--and its implementation must be carefully supervised. This is very important for all our activities, for fulfilling the production and the other plan indexes.

We must further improve transportation, better distribute and utilize vehicles, and reduce fuel consumption. Trains must be loaded to capacity, and each truck must be supplied with trailers. In general, transportation costs must be radically reduced, as they make up a good part of material expenditures at enterprises.

We have discussed these matters with comrades employed in the transportation sector. However, all ministries have transport vehicles, and they must use them efficiently and ensure that they are loaded to capacity.

Similarly, all other socioeconomic sectors must take resolute measures to implement their programs. For example, we must resolutely endeavor to fulfill the housing program, but at minimum cost and ensuring that material consumption is further cut back and that savings are achieved on road maintenance and other operations. Thus, in carrying out investment projects, maintenance and repairs, we must efficiently utilize material, financial, and manpower resources, with a view to increasing economic efficiency even more markedly.

Esteemed comrades, important tasks devolve next year on scientific research. We have a comprehensive program for each branch and sector, including projects that must be finalized and put into production and including the new research projects that have to be begun. The problem of achieving a new quality of the technical standard, of making better use of resources, and the problem of labor productivity are closely linked to raising the overall research activity to a higher level. In this respect, too, we have enough forces available; we have experience, we have institutes, and we have everything that is necessary for Romanian research to be able to fulfill its highly responsible

tasks and to engage with all its forces in implementing the programs envisaged to constantly place Romania--for a number of products--among the first ranks of the scientific-technical revolution. This is true both for industry and agriculture, and for all sectors of activity.

Our education must accordingly engage with more determination in research work, too, and at the same time, continue to pay more attention to improving the level of training of cadres and specialists, and to programs for advanced training and retraining of cadres. We must understand well that all the programs we have discussed are also linked to an appropriate level of education and to the continuing elevation of the professional, technical, and scientific level of the workers, technicians, and engineers, and of all working people in all sectors.

As you have been able to note from all the material we have discussed, we propose that in 1984 there be a radical improvement of activity in all sectors. This requires also the further improvement of the leadership, increased responsibility on the part of the leadership cadres, and it requires stricter order and discipline in all fields.

We must apply with greater determination to new economic mechanisms that will lead to a more forceful increase in material incentives for the working people and to a closer link between all working people and the fulfillment of the production plan, and to the proper management of the means entrusted to them as owners, producers, and end users. This year we have adopted a number of measures in this respect. We must, however, firmly proceed to implementing them. Each party and state activist, irrespective of the work he performs, must act with greater responsibility for the general interests and the interests of all people. Let us do all we can so that our party and state bodies will fulfill the tasks devolving upon them in all fields under favorable conditions. In fact, a decisive role is played now by the organizational and management work in implementing all decisions.

It is necessary to act to constantly strengthen our national currency so as to preserve the stability of prices, both industrial prices and those of consumer goods. As a matter of fact, you have been able to note that for the next year we have envisaged no increase in prices--neither in industry nor in consumer goods.

Through the measures we have taken this year, we have been able to establish some order in this respect and to ensure that prices set in the free market, by the producer, are 50 or even 60 percent lower than they were during the same period in 1982. We must understand well that maintaining prices under strict control is of great importance for our overall economic activity and we must understand that an increase in incomes is not achieved on the basis of increasing prices; on the contrary, it would lead to a decrease in incomes. In error, some producers believe that if they sell their products for higher prices they will make higher profits; however, this would force them to pay higher prices for what they buy and ultimately they would only lose. This must be understood even by the executives in the economy for, here too, we still have people who believe that they can solve things through prices and

not through measures aimed at achieving better, more valuable and more effective products from the same quantity of raw materials. It is therefore necessary to act with great determination to maintain strict control over prices, both in industry and in the field of consumer goods by understanding that, in fact, improving the economic activity and the new economic mechanism presupposes the achievement of a stable balance in the development of the national economy and the constant strengthening of the national currency compared to other currencies.

We must act to resolutely implement the provisions on the social and national income, to cut back on material consumption and thus increase the net income and the national income to a greater extent. I view the provisions on increasing the national income as minimal; as for the share of material consumption, however, I view them as maximal--and we must continue to act in all sectors to implement those provisions under favorable conditions.

This is the sure and only road that can ensure the development of our national economy and the implementation of the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

Esteemed comrades, the plan correctly stresses the important role played throughout our economy by foreign trade and production-sharing with other countries.

It is necessary for us to take all necessary measures to fulfill export production under favorable conditions, in terms of the best quality and technical level in order to thus constantly make better use of raw materials. Let us also forcefully develop production-sharing as an important means of foreign trade activity.

We must act to constantly improve cooperation with the CEMA member countries, the mechanism of the bodies we have, and the efficiency of that activity. In the spirit of the consistent position held by socialist Romania's party we must act to turn CEMA into a body that will ensure the smooth and balanced development of all socialist countries, an increase in their share in the world economy, and their ability to solve the many problems regarding socio-economic development, including problems concerning energy and raw materials, and those in the technical and research field, by themselves.

It is also necessary for us to even further develop relations--both trade relations and production-sharing--with all the socialist countries. And we must continue to pay more attention to cooperation and collaboration with the developing countries and, at the same time, expand relations with the developed capitalist countries in the spirit of the principles of peaceful co-existence and of actively participating in the international division of labor. Naturally, in all our economic relations we must constantly see to it that we carry out an equitable and balanced trade, and that we ensure full equality of rights and mutual advantage.

This year, our foreign trade recorded certain positive results, although they were not up to the plan provisions and existing possibilities owing to shortcomings in this sector. It is necessary to take measures, so that such

situations are completely eliminated and so that beginning with the first month of the coming year we will be able to ensure the fulfillment of the production plan in a balanced manner and up to the requirements in the world market. Let us ensure a positive balance of trade and balance of payments--this being one of the decisive preconditions for eliminating our foreign debts as soon as possible. This year we will be able to cut back on our foreign debts to a certain extent. In 1984 we propose to cut them back by at least 25 percent and we must view this as the minimum, so that--as I have said--we will be able to completely eliminate our foreign debts as soon as possible. This requires--once again I want to stress this--that we expand economic exchanges and production-sharing, and fulfill export production under favorable conditions. Let us act constantly to actively participate in resolving the major problems of the world economy that concern the whole of mankind, in order to overcome the difficulties of the world economic crisis, to eliminate underdevelopment, and to achieve a new international economic order.

Dear comrades, this year we have adopted a number of measures on increasing remuneration and generally improving the material and cultural living standard of all working people. These measures will be applied in 1984 as well. It is necessary for us to act with great determination to ensure the resolute implementation of those measures closely in keeping with the implementation of the programs for our socioeconomic development.

I believe that the principles we have applied in the remuneration system, in the sense of not limiting incomes but also in the sense of not guaranteeing them, ensure a more firm and consistent application of the socialist principles aimed at guaranteeing each one's income in keeping with work performed. These principles have been well understood by the workers class and by all working people. However, we must apply them with great determination and we must well understand that an increase in incomes can be carried out only along with perfecting and increasing production, profits, and economic efficiency.

Once again I want to stress that we must firmly act to eliminate any kind of profiteering in order to eliminate any practices in trade that are not in keeping with the country's laws. Our society does not need any profiteers, it does not need any people who want to live without working, that is, at the expense of others! I want to stress this, because in certain counties concessions were made for such people. This made the state bodies take appropriate measures; however, a more thorough study into the manner in which the party bodies, the people's councils, the bodies for domestic trade and other bodies are doing their duty is also required. In point of fact, profiteering, that is, acquiring material assets from the people's wealth, means to carry out a counter-revolutionary activity and must be dealt with accordingly by our bodies and the law. Actually, one could say that appropriating things from public wealth, profiteering, purloining material goods, and other things, under the current circumstances represent the most dangerous forms of counterrevolutionary activity. They should by no means be justified or tolerated--wherever they happen and whoever commits such a thing! Our laws are very firm--and combating such practices is a requirement of our social development, a requirement of socialist democracy which presupposes defending the people's rights against those who plan an attempt against them.

We have adopted the program on the people's self-supply. It has positive provisions and is based on realities. However, I want to repeat that those provisions are directly linked to the provisions of the industrial and agricultural plan and to the more forceful increase in production and economic effectiveness in all fields.

It is necessary for each county party committee, the other party bodies, the county people's council, and all people's councils to act with great responsibility to appropriately implement the program on self-management and to ensure the delivery of products to the state supply, and the necessary supplies for counties, cities, and so forth. The provisions of our law are very clear and only if additional production is achieved in keeping with legal provisions--which offer great possibilities--can counties and localities receive additional supplies. It has to be well understood that in order to consume as much as the plan envisages, we must implement the plan provisions; in order to consume an additional amount, we have to produce additional amounts. While we have preserved a certain balance for our general consumption, as is normal, in the case of additional consumption we offer the possibility for each county and each unit to have at their disposal much more than has been envisaged. Each person is entitled to retain up to 50 percent from additional achievements and thus has the opportunity to have additional means at his disposal; I am referring, of course, to consumer goods. Therefore, it is possible for each county and each locality to have additional supplies in excess of what has been envisaged in the program, by producing more. Some people have already achieved this. I want to repeat, it is necessary for all our party and state bodies, and for the people's councils to fulfill their responsibilities with great exactingness in all fields--including the field of self-management and self-supply--and constantly care for the working people in order to continuously strengthen the contacts and the indestructible unity between the people and party.

Esteemed comrades, all this requires us to take the necessary measures to eliminate shortcomings and failings which existed in many sectors this year as well. We have a good plan and we have very good programs. What is decisive now is the work performed by the party and state bodies, beginning with the Central Committee, the government, and down to the lowest level.

Once again I want to stress that it is necessary for us to act to perfect our work style and to strengthen responsibility and discipline. The leadership in ministries must take very responsible action to effectively and rapidly solve the complex problems posed by our socioeconomic development. It is necessary to increase the role of the workers' councils and of the general meetings and we must see that all our people participate, with all their might, in resolutely implementing the party's domestic and foreign policy.

The trade unions have important tasks in the overall activity aimed at implementing the complex programs and at uniting the working people in each unit in order to ensure good work.

The Union of Communist Youth also has great responsibility in mobilizing young people. The other mass and civic organizations, and each one in his

own field of activity must act with greater determination and effectiveness to fulfill the highly responsible duties assigned to them in Romania's socialist democracy.

It is necessary to increase the role of party organizations and of party bodies at all levels even further. Let us understand well that the assertion of the party's leading role is determined, first and foremost, by the manner in which each organization, each communist is fulfilling his tasks in his field of activity. Let us constantly strengthen the work of political and cultural education and of shaping the new man, conscious builder of socialism and communism! Let us resolutely act in order to fulfill the great responsibility we have toward all our nation, namely, to ensure the implementation of party program, constantly raise our fatherland onto new peaks of progress and civilization, ensure the people's material and cultural well-being, and constantly strengthen Romania's independence and sovereignty.

Esteemed comrades, I do not now want to refer to international issues; they have been discussed extensively recently. The Central Committee has recently undertaken a number of actions in order to halt the arms race, particularly the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe, and to proceed to withdrawing and scrapping the existing ones. We believe that, in the spirit of the consistent orientation of our international activity, the Central Committee and the government must take further steps and do everything possible to contribute to preventing the aggravation of the international situation and the deployment of new missiles and promoting a new international policy based on equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs.

There is no problem more important now than that of disarmament and peace and of ensuring the vital right of peoples to life, freedom, and peace. There are many problems in international life; we have often discussed them. However, they are all subordinated in the final analysis to this vital hope of mankind and all peoples. Hence, we must do everything along these lines! If we secure peace and halt the arms race, then we will win a great victory and will create conditions for proceeding to resolving other complex international problems! Of course, this does not mean that we should postpone the solution of other problems until we resolve this vital one. Naturally, we must work to resolve other problems, too, in the spirit of our well-known position; however, I reiterate, the main thing is to halt the arms race and ensure peace, since the future of all mankind, including Romania's future, depend on this. Therefore, together with all of mankind, we should do everything for peace!

Esteemed comrades, on 1 December we shall be marking the 65th anniversary of the creation of the United Romanian National State--an event of decisive historical significance for the destiny of all our people. Let us greet this event with ever better results in all fields!

We have adopted the 1984 plan and the programs for the current and future period. Let us work in such a way as to make sure that in 1984 we obtain

outstanding results in all fields, thus greeting the 40th anniversary of the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation with great achievements, demonstrating the force and capacity of the Romanian people to build a new, socialist, and communist life.

We will also be holding our 13th party congress in 1984. We must take all necessary measures to prepare and greet the congress with the best possible results in fulfilling the 1984 plan, so that each county and unit greets the congress with ever greater achievements in all fields.

In the short period left until the end of this year, let us work in such a way so as to thoroughly prepare for proceeding to fulfilling the 1984 plan by fulfilling the 1983 plan under good conditions in all fields!

I believe that if we act in this manner and fulfill this year's plan under good conditions, we will lay a sound basis for the next year and the entire 5-year plan; we will thus be able to greet the 40th anniversary of the revolution for social and national liberation and the 13th party congress with outstanding results in all fields.

I am convinced that the entire central committee, all party bodies, the government, all state bodies, all working people, regardless of nationality, and all our people will act in full unity to attain all these goals.

With this conviction, comrades, I declare the plenary proceedings closed and I wish all party organizations, working people, and all people ever greater successes, much good health and happiness.

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